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JOURNALS

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HYDERABAD, KASHMIR, SIKKIM, AND NEPAL.

BY

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WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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TO HIS FORMER COMRADES

OF THE

ROYAL SCOTS FUSILIERS

AND THE

FIRST GORKHAS,

SO HIGHLY SPOKEN OF IN THESE PAGES BY HIS FATHER,

THIS VOLUME,

DESCRIPTIVE OF SCENES

FAMILIAR TO SO MANY OF THEM,

Is Dedicated

BY

THE EDITOR.

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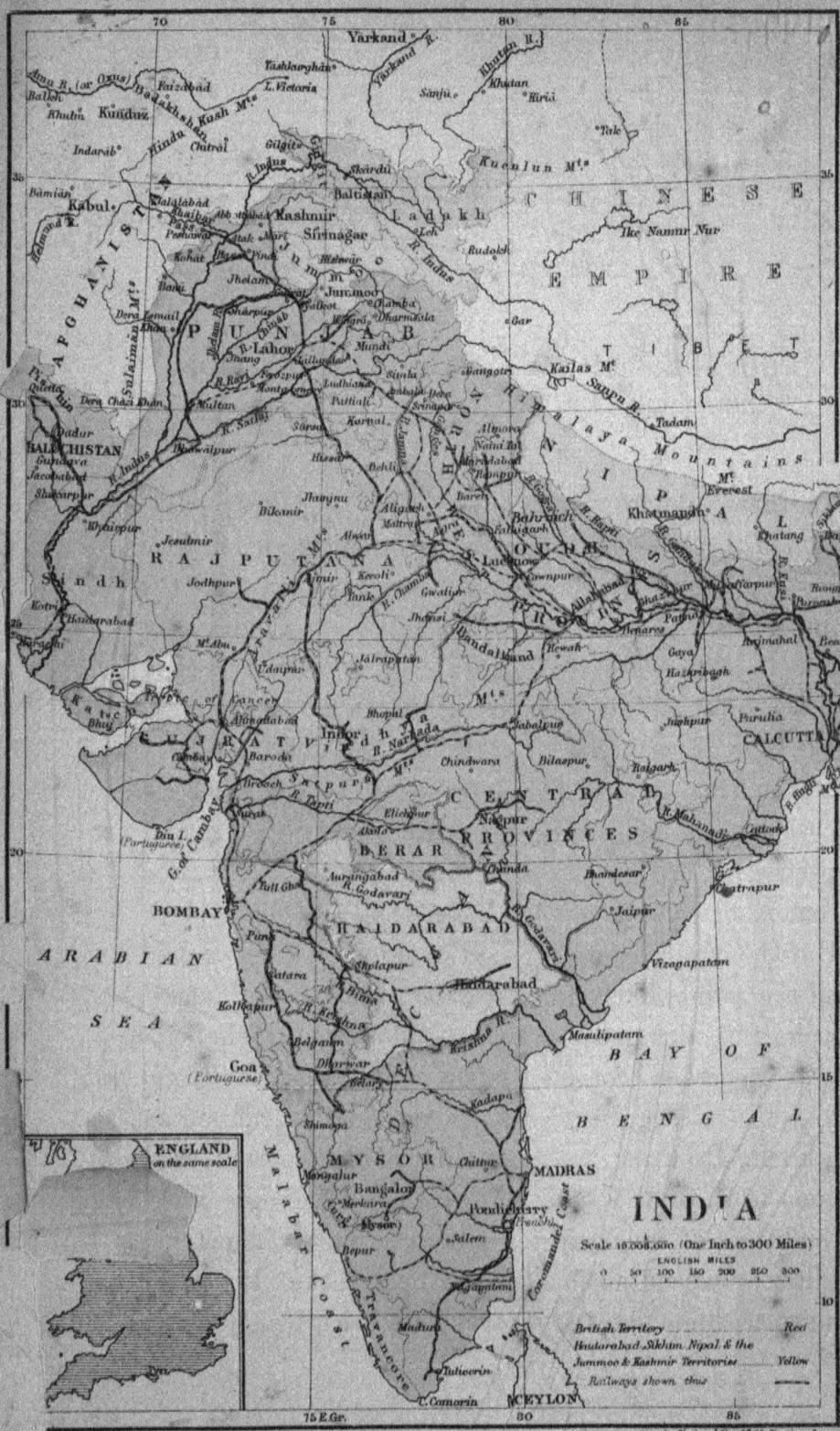

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PREFACE AND GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

In these volumes, which are virtually the joint production of the Author and Editor, the work has been divided between them thus. The author has furnished the journals and illustrations. The editor has supplied the introductory notes and maps, and is further solely responsible for the manner in which the whole work has been placed before the public. The author drew, at the time of writing, entirely on his personal experience and observation for the facts stated in his portion of the book, which thus contains information that is necessarily new to those that are not experts. But the editor has not sought to do more than explain all the points likely to puzzle the reader of the diaries, using for this purpose the best works on the subjects concerned that he has been able to consult, and to some extent knowledge independently acquired by himself. However, the great range of the topics touched upon in the diaries, and the extreme differences in the conditions of the countries described, have obliged the editor to expend no small labour upon them. It has, for instance, been necessary to explain such widely diver-

gent—and it may be added difficult—matters as the politics, administration and history of the dominions of the Nizám of Hyderabad, the exceedingly complicated geography and history of the mountain territories of the Mahárájá of Jammún and Kashmír, and the Buddhism of the Himálayas as practised in Sikkim and Népál.

The above remarks will suffice to explain the form that the book has taken; the various diaries and journals having been given in the following order, preceded by introductory remarks. First comes a diary kept at Hyderabad during the year 1867 when the writer was Political Resident at the Court of the Nizám; next, two separate diaries of travel in Kashmír for short terms in 1869 and 1871, followed by extracts from a letter in 1876 to the Earl of Lytton, then Viceroy of India, explaining what a tourist, whose time is very limited, can manage to see of Kashmír, if he pursues certain routes; next, two diaries kept during two very short excursions into Sikkim in 1875, originally contained in a letter to the Earl of Northbrook, then Viceroy of India; and lastly, a rapid *résumé* of the observations made during a journey into the Valley of Népál in 1876, which formed part of a communication on the subject, addressed to the Earl of Lytton.

The first diary is entirely a political one, *i.e.*, nothing is entered in it which does not directly affect the politics of Hyderabad for the time being, or the actors in them. The author was in the habit every evening of making brief notes of all that occurred during the

day, of persons seen and conversations held. This private diary had no reference to the official communications he was obliged to make of daily occurrences at Hyderabad to the Government of India, extracts from which it would be an obvious breach of faith to publish, if not even to keep. But his position as Political Resident rendered his sources of information peculiarly full and trustworthy, and tended to make his judgments on the men about him, on passing events and on measures taken, much more accurate and just than those of an ordinary observer could possibly be. For these reasons it is hoped that the facts now given regarding the earlier efforts of Sir Sálár Jang and the difficulties in his way are not only new but valuable. With reference to this particular diary it should also be said that, while it presents a true picture of an important part of the daily life of a British diplomatist at an Oriental Court, it does not attempt to give an adequate description of all the duties of the Resident: who, besides being a political officer—watching and controlling the conduct of one of the largest and most important of the Native States in India—is the head of the great Cantonments of Secunderabad and Baláram,—which contain a large population of Europeans and natives and thousands of troops,—and is moreover the judicial and civil chief of the Berárs—districts amounting almost to a province of India in Area and importance and governed after the manner of a British possession. It will be found, too, that the conversations recorded sometimes take an odd turn—and this is applicable to all the diaries,—the

reason being that they were held in the vernacular, either in Persian or Hindustani.

The diaries in Kashmír and Sikkim are purely descriptive, and are mainly notes of brief tours in those interesting portions of the Himálayas. But as to these, the writer's long experience as a highly placed administrator in almost every part of India, his many years' practice as a painter in water-colours, and his extended travels in many lands—Eastern and Western—put him in a position to observe rapidly and accurately the scenery and condition of the countries he was traversing. When he visited Kashmír in 1859 he was Commissioner of Lahore, and before 1871 he had been Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, Resident at Hyderabad, and Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and was, at the time of his second visit, Finance Minister. In Sikkim in 1875 and in Népál in 1876 he travelled as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. His official position gave him the further advantage of conversing during his journey with the actual rulers of the various countries, with their chief and most experienced officials, and with those Englishmen who were best acquainted with them. Thus, in Kashmír he had the companionship of the Mahárájá Ranbír Singh himself, of the great Minister Kirpá Rám and of Captain Montgomerie, the chief of the survey; in Sikkim of Mr. Ware Edgar, than whom no one has a greater practical knowledge of that obscure land, and in Népál of Mr. Girdlestone, who had then been nearly ten years Political Resident at Káthmándú.

The author's observations on the geography, politics, administration and people of these parts may therefore be taken to be as trustworthy as a rapid traveller can make them.

Besides the above considerations, one or two points make the Kashmír diaries especially interesting. The three journeys *viâ* the Bánihál Pass were made off the beaten track by an unfrequented route, and so the descriptions of them afford information that must necessarily be new to most readers; and even where the well-known and oft-traversed route *viâ* the Pír Pantsál Pass has been mainly followed, a considerable portion of the journey was made over an unusual path. The first journal also contains a careful and detailed description of the celebrated panoramic view obtainable from the summit of the Takht-i-Sulaimán Hill near Srínagar. Every point in this was compared with the notes of Captain Montgomerie, who had surveyed the country, and who was himself present to point out all the peaks mentioned, so that the general accuracy of the account of it herein given is beyond question.

In the editorial portion of the work, as above said, the object has been to elucidate the author's text rather than to supply fresh matter. Such works, therefore, as have been available, have been freely used. The introduction to the Hyderabad Journals is based on Sir R. Temple's *Report on the Administration of the Government of His Highness the Nizám in the Deccan*, Calcutta, 1868; and on a *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of His Highness the Nizám's Dominions*, 2 vols., Bombay,

1883. Other works consulted are Kaye's *Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, 2 vols., London, 1854; Fraser's *Our Faithful Ally the Nizám*, London, 1865; *A Short Examination of the Hyderabad Papers Relating to William Palmer and Co*, London, 1825, a tract by a partizan; Briggs' *The Nizám*, 2 vols., London, 1861; *Administration of Lord Hastings*, vol. 3; Official *Papers Relative to William Palmer and Co.*, London, 1824; Sir R. Temple's *Men and Events of My Time in India*, London, 1882. The introduction to the Kashmír journals is based on Drew's *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, London, 1875, and on Bate's *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, Calcutta, 1873. The following have also been consulted: Montgomerie's *Routes in the Western Himalayas*, Dehra Dun, 1874; Sir R. Temple's *Cashmere*, an unsigned article in the *Calcutta Review*, vol. xxxiii., 1859. The introduction to the Sikkim journals has been compiled from the scanty and scattered materials to be found in the following works:—Hooker's *Himalayan Journals*, 2 vols., London, 1854; Markham's *Narratives of the Journeys of Bogle and Manning into Tibet*, London, 1876; Edgar's *Report on a Visit to Sikkim and the Tibetan Frontier*, Calcutta, 1874; Rennie's *Bhotan*, London, 1866; *Political Missions to Bootan*, Calcutta, 1865; Sir R. Temple's *Oriental Experience*, London, 1883; Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. x., London, 1876; Cunningham's *Ladak*, London, 1854; Sarat Chandra Dás's *Contributions on Tibet*, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I. 1881-2. In addition to the above, for the introductory remarks on

Népál there have been consulted Hodgson's *Essays on Népál and Tibet*, London, 1874; Oldfield's *Sketches from Nipál*, London, 1880; Wright's *History of Népál*, Cambridge, 1877; Hill's *Notes on the Goorkhas*, Dharm sálá, 1874, and Allen's *Nepaul*, Dehra Dun, 1873, both tracts; Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1876.

An attempt has been made to preserve uniformity of orthography throughout the work in the representation of vernacular names and terms in Roman characters, though this has been by no means an easy matter; the plan of transliteration followed being that adopted by the Indian Government, and commonly known as the Hunterian system. For the benefit of non-Oriental readers this is given in outline here, and the rules to be observed are simple enough. Every letter, vowel or consonant, should be sounded, and the vowels should be pronounced in the Italian and *not* in the English fashion. The marked vowels are long in quantity, and the plain ones short. Accent is not shown, and though the accents do not necessarily fall on the long vowels, the safest rule for those who are unacquainted with the languages concerned is to place the accents on them. Special peculiarities of consonantal and vowel sounds are not shown, as to do so would be useless to any but experts, and experts do not require to have them pointed out. For the purely English reader the following additional rough and ready rules as to sounding the vowels and consonants are laid down. *A* is sounded as *u* in *hut*; *á* as *a* in

father; *e* as *e* in *met*; *é* as *a* in *mate*; *i* as *i* in *knit*; *í* as *ee* in *meet*; *o* as *o* in *opaque*, not as *o* in *hot*; *ó* as *o* in *rode*; *u* as *oo* in *foot*; *ú* as *oo* in *food*; *ai* as *i* in *wide*; *au* as *ou* in *shroud*; *y* is always a consonant; *h* when conjoined to a consonant aspirates it, thus, *th* is never sounded as in *thing* but as in *hothouse*; *g* is always hard as in *guard*, never sounded like *j* as in *giant*, which word in the Hunterian system would be spelt *jaiant*; *sh* is sounded as in *shall*. To make these rules a little clearer, in the Hunterian system the English word *hut* would be spelt *hat*, *mate* as *mét*, *opaque* as *opák*, *meet* as *mít*, *rode* as *ród*, *foot* as *fut*, *food* as *fúd*, *wide* as *waid*, *shroud* as *shraud*, *goatherd* as *góthard*, *publichouse* as *pablikhaus*. If these easy rules be learnt and adhered to, the reader will not be very far off the right sound of every word in the book, though he must not suppose that they enable him to rightly master such words as *waghaira* or *Khairu'ddín*, where the *gh* and *kh* are meant to represent peculiar Eastern sounds not known to English. Indeed, it does not much matter if he cannot, as they are difficult to catch, and it would hardly be worth the while of any but those studying the Indian tongues to try to sound them. In the same way there are two *t's*, two *d's*, and two *r's* in most Indian languages, which are never differentiated in this book for the same reason.

The difficulty of transliterating vernacular terms is not great, but the task of adequately representing Oriental place names in Roman characters is quite another matter for several reasons. In the first place

there is really no fixed orthography for the name of an ordinary village or town in the East, as it is seldom put upon paper, except in private correspondence and in official documents of no importance. Its orthography, therefore, being a matter of but little moment, is allowed to vary with the will of the writer. Then the names of places actually alter from time to time, owing to change of owners or site; and the shifting of a village or small town a few miles from its former position is not at all an uncommon occurrence, often arising from trivial reasons. Again, places in many parts have regularly often more than one name, owing to people dwelling together but speaking different languages, belonging to different tribes or races, and subscribing to different religions. Thus, in Sikkim every place will ordinarily have its Lepcha, Limbu, Bhútiá, Tibetan, and Hindústání names—all quite different: in Kashmír, Hindu, Muhammadan and Buddhist, each employs his own name for a place, and this again is apt to differ accordingly as a man is a Dógrá, Kashmírí, Baltí, Dárd or Ladákhí. Lastly, it is a mere chance which one out of many local names for a place gets on to our Survey maps and so becomes the European name for it. However, the difficulties of the geographer do not end here, for until quite lately surveyors and travellers spelt each according to his own sweet will and on no system, so that the same word is hardly in any two books or maps represented in the same way. Systematic transliteration is happily being introduced, but has hardly yet made its way into the minds of the general public,

and the so-called "sensible,"—which is really the ignorant and haphazard,—method of writing Oriental place names is likely to worry the topographer for many a long year to come. However, it is clear that the multiplication of official gazetteers and maps will gradually do for India what the Ordnance Survey has done for Great Britain, and fix the chaotic orthography of Indian geographical names; so that sooner or later —sooner let us hope—the existing difficulties will disappear.

In a book of the present day, however, all Indian geographical spelling must remain a compromise, and as the maps which illustrate it are usually—for obvious reasons—prepared separately from the text, the orthography of the text will be found to differ from that of the maps. Such is the case in the present work, though great pains have been taken over the transliteration. As regards Hyderabad no particular difficulty has arisen, and it is hoped that the names in the text are represented with substantial accuracy; and as to Kashmír, through the kindness of the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, of Srínagar, every name mentioned in the journal has been noted down in the vernacular by natives of the Valley. Their spelling has been recorded in an Appendix, so that there can be no doubt as to how *they* write them. Perhaps, therefore, it may also prove a solid addition to our geographical knowledge of Kashmír. As to the vernacular character employed in the Appendix, it is the Kashmírí variety of the Persian character, and it will be noticed that the "points"

have been made to fit in closely to the letters, making them thus more than usually legible. This method of pointing Oriental characters is the invention of Messrs. Figgins. In Hyderabad and Kashmír, then, the editor has been fortunate in his materials, and such also is the case to a certain extent with Népál, for which country he has had the accurate works of Mr. Brian Hodgson and Dr. Wright to fall back on; but in Sikkim orthography is all uncertainty. It has so happened that no traveller or official connected with the country has ever spelt on any system whatever. A determined effort has been made to create order out of chaos, but not with much success it is feared. Mr. Clements Markham, when editing the travels of Manning and Bogle into Tibet, made an attempt at a reasonable orthography, and so has the editor of this work. In both books it is, however, a mere attempt, based on the probabilities of the case as to each name, when choosing one out of a dozen forms of it and maintaining it throughout.

Closely connected with the question of place names is that of titles and vernacular terms. The latter have always been given in strict transliteration and explained the first time they occur; but not afterwards, to avoid redundancy. However, in order that the reader may not lose sight of their meaning, a glossarial index of all vernacular terms to be found in the work has been added to it. The titles of native noblemen and others to be met with in the book, especially in the section dealing with men and affairs in Hyderabad, require a somewhat more detailed notice here. Roughly speak-

ing the name by which a prominent and highly placed native nobleman in India is known to the English is *one* of his titles and not necessarily that by which he is best known to his countrymen; and we have further a ridiculous habit of adding "Sir" before this title, whenever such a personage receives an English knighthood, as if its first term were a Christian name and its second a surname. We thus talk of "Sir Sálár Jang," which is just as correct as to say "Sir Marquis of Salisbury," or "Sir Viscount Cross." In the case of Sir Sálár Jang his full name and titles were Nawáb Mír *Turáb 'Alí* Khán Bahádur, Sálár Jang, Shujá'u'ddaula, Mukhtáru'l-Mulk, G.C.S.I., D.C.L. Of all these names only Turáb 'Alí are the proper names: Nawáb is a title showing official status; Mír is a title showing nobility of birth; Khán and Bahádur are general titles of bility; Sálár Jang is the family title; Shujá'u'ddaula and Mukhtáru'l-Mulk are high titles of State conferred on the minister personally; G.C.S.I., is of course an English knighthood, and D.C.L. an Oxford degree of honour. Sálár Jang is a regular hereditary title, *e.g.*, Muhammad 'Alí Khán, Sálár Jang, was the minister's father, and Layak 'Alí Khán, the present Sálár Jang is his son. In the same way the late Amír Kabír Shamsu'l-Umará (both titles) was Rashídu'ddín Khán (*ob.* 1881), who succeeded his brother Rafí'u'ddín Khán (*ob.* 1877), and who has been succeeded by his son Khurshéd Jáh, the present Amír Kabír, Shamsu'l-Umará. The same remark applies to many other titles and names occurring in the book, and in order to dis-

tiguish titles from proper names every title is preceded by the particle "the." Thus we say Khurshéd Jah, but *the* Sálár Jang, *the* Amír Kabír, *the* Muníru'l-Mulk, *the* Vikáru'l-Umará, and so on. This is a new experiment in Indian and Oriental nomenclature, and it will be interesting to see if it is a success and comes to be generally adopted as being convenient.

Hyderabad titles are not given in a haphazard fashion, but have a recognised gradation of their own, which may be explained as follows. They are from the highest downwards, (1) Jáh, (2) Umará, (3) Mulk, (4) Daula, (5) Jang, (6) Bahádur, (7) Khán. Passing over the 6th and 7th, as common to all men of noble or gentle birth, it will be sufficient to explain the first five. Each of the above words signifying a title has a distinct meaning, and is constant, but the word preceding it is used to qualify it and varies in every case. Thus Jang means "war," and Sálár Jang means "leader in war," Munír Jang means "splendid in war," and so on. Daula means "state," and Shujá'-u'ddaula means "active in the state," Ruknu'ddaula means "pillar of the state." Mulk means "country," and Muníru'l-Mulk means "splendour of the country." Umará (plural of Amír), means "the nobles," Shamsu'l-Umará means "the sun of the nobles," and Vikáru'l-Umará means "the majesty of the nobles." Jáh means "the world," and 'Arastú Jáh means "the Aristotle of the world." Amír Kabír (which is commonly, but quite incorrectly, pronounced and written by Europeans Amír-i-Kabír, as the *izáfat* is not used in

proper names), is a title by itself, and as it means "premier noble" is naturally used of one person only. Mír 'Alam, "the noblest in the world," a title given to one of the prime ministers, is another such isolated title.

It is necessary now to say something of the maps and illustrations. The sketches and views are all taken from original drawings by the author, made on the spot in each case. The five coloured illustrations are reproductions by chromo-lithography of elaborate paintings, and three of them require special notice, viz., the two of the ruins of Mártand, and that of the Darbár at Pátan. The famous ruins of Mártand have been described, measured, photographed and drawn over and over again, but never before, so far as the writers of this book are aware, have they been delineated with so much care and with so great attention to details in any picture placed before the public. Illustrations of the Darbár at Pátan have also appeared in previous publications, but the peculiar pink colouring of the principal buildings has not hitherto been shown. It arises from a pink enamelled facing to the bricks used, which is not found outside Népál, and is even there a lost art. The views in black and white are photo-lithographs of coloured drawings and sketches, and of these the panoramic view from the Takht-i-Sulaimán is the most important. Its outline and topography may be taken as correct, for the latter was compiled, as has been already remarked, with the help of Captain Montgomerie, who surveyed the country; and the former was drawn with special attention to accuracy.

It may be noted, too, that an enlargement of the original drawing was exhibited by Mr. Wyld in the "Great Globe" that stood in Leicester Square from 1851 to 1861. In addition to the above a portrait of Sir Sálár Jang, from one of the latest photographs of that great statesman is given, and also a specimen of his handwriting in English. It is remarkable that he hardly ever wrote an entire letter in English, contenting himself with signing those written by a clerk, and out of some 200 letters from him to the author, now bound together in one volume, only one—that from which the illustration is taken—is entirely in his handwriting.

The maps have been compiled by the Editor, with the exception of that showing the dominions of the Mahárájá of Jammún and Kashmír, which has been adapted from one by Messrs. Stanford in Drew's *Jummoo and Kashmír*. The general map of India is intended to show especially the position and area of the various countries described in the text; an outline of England being given in one corner so that it may be compared with such States as Hyderabad, Kashmír and Népál. Two of the maps, that showing the dominions of the Nizám of Hyderabad and the sketch of Népál and Sikkim, have been produced upon a new principle, which the Editor is not at liberty to explain at present, and which is now on its first trial. These will, therefore, it is hoped prove to be of more than usual interest to geographers. The Hyderabad map, in addition, shows the redistribution of the districts of the Nizám's dominions effected by Sir Sálár Jang

before his death, and so contains newer information than any map published as yet in England. It is based on the map attached to the *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Nizám's Dominions*, which, however, while giving the latest information available, is topographically very inaccurate. The route map of Kashmír has been compiled in order to show clearly and readily the various routes adopted by the author; and, to enable the reader to at once follow the topography of the panorama, its geographical outline is shown by a strong blue line, and a light line of the same colour is drawn from the point of view to each place mentioned in the description and sketch. The map of Sikkim, showing its river and mountain systems, has been specially drawn for this work by the Editor, on the basis of Mr. Trelawny Saunders' map in *Oriental Experience;* and the Editor has also specially drawn the plan of Srínagar City, taking the Grand Trigonometrical Survey's map as his model. The utility of this last lies in the colouring. In this lacustrine city water, swamps, meadows and buildings are so mixed up that a black and white map of it is exceedingly difficult to follow. The colouring, however, has made it plain enough, and the accuracy of the panorama is well tested by the plan, as they fit together remarkably well. Lastly, every place and name mentioned in the text is, where practicable, *underlined* in the maps, so that the trouble of the reader in searching for the same is lessened as much as possible; and as these maps have been made to "open out" they can be readily referred to, while reading the book, without constantly turning over the pages.

The thanks of the Editor are due to the Earls of Northbrook and Lytton for their courteous permission to use information originally contained in letters addressed to them; to the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, C.M.S., of Srínagar, for the great trouble he has taken to ascertain the real spelling of place-names in Kashmír; to Mr. F. C. Danvers, Dr. R. Rost, and Mr. E. Wade, of the India Office for much courteous assistance rendered in obtaining books and maps likely to promote a correct knowledge of the subjects dealt with.

Finally, no one can be more aware than the Editor himself of the many shortcomings of this book; but he hopes that they will be lightly dealt with, as it ranges over subjects both diverse and difficult. At any rate he trusts it will be found that, though the characters and actions of many persons, still living or but recently deceased, have necessarily come under review in its pages, there is nothing in them that can give legitimate offence to any one, or that can reasonably be held to have been set down in malice.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE NASH, WORCESTER,
February, 1887.

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PRIVATE DIARY OF POLITICS

AT THE

COURT OF THE NIZÁM OF HYDERABÁD

FROM APRIL 7, 1867, TO JANUARY 3, 1868.

INTRODUCTION.

THE present extent of the large inland tract of the Indian peninsula known as the Nizám's Dominions or the Nizám's Deccan, was settled by treaties with the British Government in 1853 and 1861. Since the latter date, these territories have been divided into two distinct portions. The smaller, or northern part, commonly called Berar, or officially the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, has been handed over for management to the English, though the sovereignty remains with the Nizám. It has an area of 17,334 square miles, and its population during the time covered by the diary was estimated at three millions. With Berar, however, this volume has little concern, and no more need be said about it here.

The larger and principal portion of the Nizám's Dominions is still managed solely by His Highness's Government, and comprises an area of 78,003 square miles, having a population of about ten millions. This

territory is bounded, as above said, on the north by Berar, on the west by the Bombay Deccan or Maráthá Country proper, on the east by portions of the Central Provinces and the Northern Circars of the Madras Presidency, and on the south by Ceded Districts of the Madras Presidency. It has for the most part a broken and varied surface, and is traversed by a series of rivers, rising generally in the great range of hills and uplands known as the Western Ghát̀s, and all flowing westward towards the Bay of Bengal. The country is consequently divided by its river system into several strips, each of which has its distinctive features.

Beginning from the north, and immediately below Berar, we find the frontier to consist of a long series of low hills, called by the English the Ajantá Range, from the celebrated caves of that name, below which there flows the Paingangá River, an affluent of the Godávarí. This tract is hilly and often wild, and is, on the whole, the poorest part of the Nizám's Dominions. Between the Paingangá and the Godávarí, however, there is included a noble country, whose high cultivation, waving harvests, and general richness make it the very flower of the Deccan. South of the Godávarí runs another affluent, the Manjhérá, which in a tortuous course embraces a tract often rugged and not very rich, though some parts of the Manjhérá Valley are fruitful.

Below this, and between the Rivers Manjhérá, Bhímá, and Kistná, lies the most important part of the Nizám's Deccan, and that in which the modern capital Hyderabad, and the former important dynastic capitals

Kulbarga, Bidar, Golkonda, and Wárangal are situated. This area comprises marked varieties of contour, soil, and climate, and is either studded with hills or else literally fluctuates with undulations. The entire eastern portion is dotted over with artificial lakes or reservoirs, constructed by the Hindú dynasties, and known in India as "tanks." No part of the peninsula is better calculated to raise our notions of those ancient rulers. Indeed, it is still, after ages of neglect, the finest scene of "tank" irrigation in all India, and it is here that the Pákhál Lake is situated, which is probably the largest sheet of water in the peninsula.

To the west of this tract, between the Bhímá and the Kistná, there is a large tongue of land which once formed the Hindú state of Shúrápúr under a feudal suzerainty of the Nizám; but which, owing to the rebellion of the Prince in 1857, has been brought under His Highness's direct administration.

Lastly, on the extreme south, between the Kistná and its affluent the Tungbhadrá, lies the Raichúr Doáb, of which some parts are fertile.

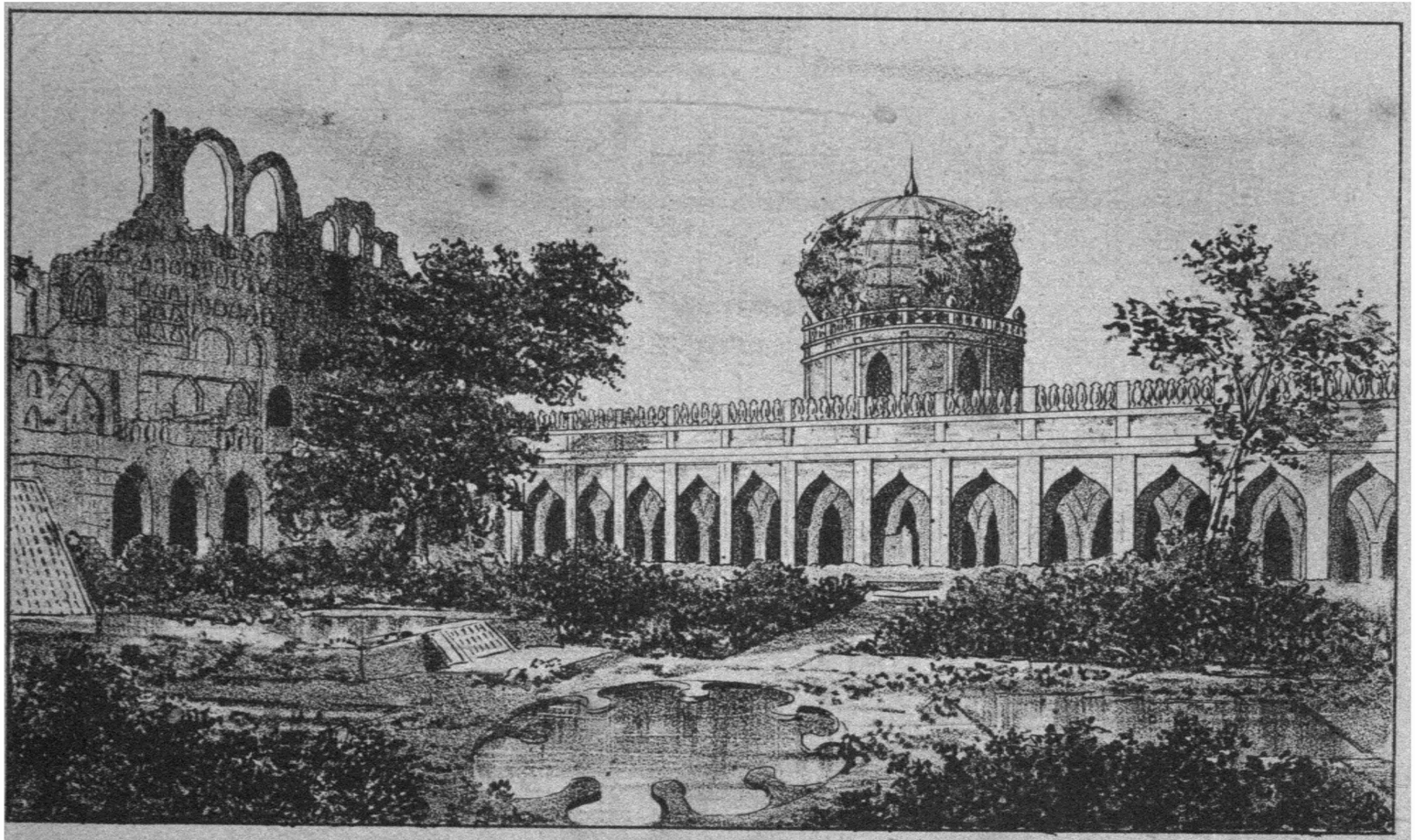
Such, then, are what may be styled the natural divisions of the country, but there are also certain general demarcations depending on its geological formation, and the language spoken by its inhabitants, which must be very briefly taken into consideration.

Geologically speaking, it may be said in general terms that in the north and west blackish trap and dark heavy soils prevail; while in the remainder, that is, the south-eastern portion, reddish granite and laterite rocks

and lighter soils are the rule. These geological divisions affect the agriculture and produce in the most marked manner, for in the black soils are raised cotton and wheat, while the red soils produce the spring and autumn harvests of rice, dependent entirely on "tank" irrigation. Hence it is that, even in this land of "tanks," the light soil districts are *par excellence* those of the artificial lakes.

As to language, the country is divided into three great linguistic divisions, each with its separate tongue, viz., the Maráthá, the Canarese, and the Telugu. These divisions are locally well understood, and are popularly styled Maráthwárí, Karnátak, and Telingána. In geographical extent they correspond roughly with the geological divisions. Thus, with some exceptions, Maráthwárí and Karnátak occupy the trap, and Telingána the granite country.

It may be as well to remark here that the territories of the Nizám are more than usually filled with places of interest. As to antiquities some are quite among the most important in India—such are the caves of Ajantá and Ellora, and the remains at Paithan, with its memories of Sálivâhana. Of lesser importance are Kalyání, the home of the Chálukyas and Ráshtrakútas, and the birthplace, so to speak, of the Lingáyats; the caves of Dhárásco and Gáotála, the dolmens of Shúrápúr, the temples and fort of Wárangal, and the curious sign-post pillar of Antúr. Then there are Anagúndí, with its memorials of the Yavana or "Greek" Kings of Southern India, the mosque and temple of 'Alampur,



Ruined Palace & Mosque at Bidar.

and the tombs at Rauza. Famous in history and replete with beautiful remains are Golkonda, Kulbarga, Bidar and Aurangábád, the remarkable Sikh town of Nándáir, the great Southern Hindú capital Vijayanagar, and Daulatábád, or Deogiri, the scene of the first Muhammadan exploits in the South. Lastly near Aurangábád lies the famous field of Assaye. The capital Hyderabad, too, is itself a place of no mean attractions to the historian and the antiquary.

Throughout the dominions of the Nizám, and in spite of differences of tongue, the real strength of the population consists of various branches of the great agricultural tribe of Southern India, which is Hindú. The bulk of his subjects are these Hindús, and it may be here remarked that while this great Muhammadan ruler in the South of India controls a people that is essentially Hindú, his great Hindú contemporary in the North—the Mahárájá of Jammún and Kashmír, of whom more anon—rules over tribes that are essentially Muhammadan. These are facts which some critics of British rule in India would do well to take into consideration.

Among the Hindús the educated class, as in most parts of Central and Southern India, consists of Bráhmans, who, in consequence, secure a great preponderance in all situations requiring mental labour, and that, too, without any serious competition. The banking and trading classes are in the same way principally Márwáris from Rájpútáná. There are also some true Rájpúts in feudal or other superior positions, and

some Sikhs, owing to the presence of the colony and shrine at Nándáir And lastly the lower orders, Rámúsís, Dhérs, and the like, are numerous, and by no means contemptible, often exhibiting nerve and courage stronger than that of their superiors.

As might be expected in a Muhammadan state the Mussalmán population is politically important, and it is in some respects peculiar. The real Dakhaní Muhammadans consist of Mughals, Patháns, and Sayyids of the usual Indian description, who have been located in the Deccan for centuries. The present governing race is Mughal, and the Nizám's Deccan is popularly known locally as "Mughalái." But there are also bodies of Muhammadans of much political consideration, who have immigrated chiefly as mercenaries. These are Arabs, Rohélas, Habashis (Abyssians, or more strictly, African Muhammadans) and Sindhís.

Among the miscellaneous population there are several influential families of Pársís in Hyderabad, and in the wilder parts to the North-East there are aboriginal tribes of a type common to the Central Provinces.

In order that the reader may follow the diary with ease it is also necessary to briefly explain the constitution of the Nizám's government at the time when it was written. Roughly, all political power was divided between the Nizám himself and the Minister he appointed, but from their sovereign, according to a well known custom in India, several other persons held an

almost independent authority over extensive portions of the country.

The Nizám as sovereign exercised administrative and executive control over a part of his army, the supervision over which he delegated to chiefs responsible only to himself, and for the payment of which he retained under his own management certan *ta'lukas* or districts called the Sarf-i-khás Ta'lukas. These districts yielded a revenue of about fifteen *lákhs* of rupees per annum, and were managed under account to the sovereign only by the chiefs who supervised the forces above-mentioned. His Highness had also a large circle of relatives, who were held to be above all jurisdiction except that of the sovereign himself, but who received instructions and orders through the Minister. Their incomes were derived from feofs (*jágírs*), or from cash payments from the general treasury of the State. The *jágírs* consisted chiefly of choice village lands situated in a circle round the capital to a distance of twenty miles, and formed a separate jurisdiction called the Jágírát. His Highness further delegated to the family of the premier noble, known as the Shamsu'l-Umará, or Amír Kabír, the hereditary charge of his bodyguard, called the Págáh. For the payment of this force the Amír Kabír held, in *jágír*, districts worth about thirteen *lákhs* of rupees annually, managing them through his own agents or deputies, under no superior authority save that of the Nizám.

With the above exception, and subject to the Sovereign's supervision, the Minister controlled all

departments of the State. His office was not hereditary, and had been held both by Muhammadans and Hindús, but it tended, as do all other such offices in Native India, to become so. Thus the uncle, grandfather and great-grandfather of the Sálár Jang, the great Minister at the period under discussion, had all been Ministers of the Nizám. Officially the Minister ranked next to his Sovereign, and his duties were to supervise the collection of the general revenues, to control all branches of the army, to arrange for the administration of justice, to organize what public works there were, to grant pensions and allowances, and to be responsible for appointments—all patronage being practically left in his hands. In the performance of these duties he had a deputy called the Péshkár, appointed by the Nizám, but subordinate to himself. This office also was practically hereditary in the family of Rájá Chandú Lál. There was, however, no sort of State Council or Darbár, as there is in many Native States. The Minister's title was Díwán, and the country directly administered by him was called the Díwání. Finally, as the recognized channel of communication between the Resident, as British Representative, and the Nizám's Government, great weight was attached to his position.

Besides the Sarf-i-khás, the Jágírát and the Díwání, there were several territories included in the Nizám's Dominions, chiefly in the neighbourhood of the frontiers, in the hands of Hindú Rájás, who paid His Highness a fixed annual sum, who were almost in the position of

tributaries, and who administered their possessions practically without control. These were the Rájá of Wanpartí, halfway between Hyderabad and Karnúl; the Rájá of Amarchantá near Maktal; the Rájá of Gurgúntá in the Shúrápúr territory; the Rájás of Gadwál, Jáwalgiri and Anagúndí, in the Raichúr Doáb; and the Rájás of Jatpól and Gopálpet on the frontier towards Masulipatam. The Rájás represented families dating beyond the Muhammadan times, and the State revenue from their lands was about five *lákhs* of rupees.

The condition of public affairs during the time covered by the diary was largely brought about by the financial state of the country during the previous fifty years; this is, therefore, constantly alluded to in it, and requires elucidation here. Early in this century the Nizám's Government began to drift into financial trouble by allowing its expenditure, even in time of peace, to exceed its income, an evil aggravated by the necessarily heavy excess of expenditure over income during the Maráthá and Pindárí wars, which occurred at this time. These difficulties may be said to have culminated about 1820, when the State was brought to the verge of ruin, and to have remained at an extreme pitch till 1853, when they resulted in the assignment of Berar to the British to defray the charges of the Hyderabad Contingent, which had got into hopeless arrears as regards the Nizám's Government.

There were three main reasons for this chronic financial embarrassment. Firstly, there was no central or general account of the State receipts and dis-

bursements. The Minister had charge of the finances; but, in former times, he never used to submit any abstract account or statement to the Sovereign, nor did he probably ever receive, or cause to be prepared, any such statement for his own information. Thus, had he even endeavoured to exercise any check, he had not the means of doing so. Secondly, there grew up a sort of intermediate agency between the Minister and the revenue departments in the person of the Daftardárs, who were originally nothing more than the keepers of the land revenue records. But gradually it became the practice for all orders to issue through them, which made them the only sources of public fiscal information open to the Minister, and which led to real power being acquired by them, to be used to their own advantage and to the detriment of the State. Thirdly, there was no central treasury for many years. The revenues of the districts were hypothecated, passing into other hands than those of the fiscal officers; and, as money was required from time to time, the local bankers were applied to! At some periods indeed the finance of the State was sustained from day to day by precarious subsidies obtained in the money market at usurious and ruinous rates!

The consequence of all this was that the credit of the Government became utterly extinguished, nor were any steps taken to re-establish it. In fact, such measures of relief as were employed tended disastrously in the opposite direction, for the money lent by the

bankers was supposed to be lent, not on the security of the Nizám's Government, but on the personal security of the Minister! Meanwhile, such pledges as he could give might, or might not, be considered binding by his successors. The incertitude felt by a moneyed man in advancing cash to the Minister for the public service can, therefore, well be imagined; he had, in truth, to look to the speedy recovery of his capital while the existing Ministry should last, by demanding excessive security in assignments of revenue, or by obtaining such a high rate of interest as would of itself in a brief time cover a multitude of risks.

Occasionally, too, the State jewels would be pledged, in order to temporarily enrich the treasury. Thus Mr. Dighton, once in the Nizám's employ, arranged for a loan to the Government from the native bankers of Hyderabad, in return for State jewellery held in pawn; and, again, a famous gem, called the Nizám's Jewel, was pledged to a committee of native bankers!

There were two classes of the community, however, who immensely profited by this state of affairs—viz., the local bankers, native and European, who fattened by directly administering to the needs of the State, and the military chiefs and great civil officials, from whom the Government in its extremity also borrowed money on occasion. These classes not only enriched themselves, but obtained a positive grip on the Government, which was extremely dangerous to the public welfare.

The banking interest benefited enormously, because, though the obligations incurred in its favour might

never be satisfied in full, yet they were fulfilled to an extent which yielded both remuneration and large profit. The normal rate of interest was from 18 to 24 per cent. per annum, and even this was exceeded by allowing premia and bonuses, whereby the principal on which interest had to be paid far exceeded the loan actually received. Then, again, the lenders of money used often to obtain, in satisfaction of their dues, first assignments on the revenues of districts and then the management of the districts themselves. In this way they acquired for a time the position of territorial chiefs. Instances—of which a good deal will be heard in the diary—are Messrs. Palmer & Co., Mr. Dighton, Púran Mall a Márwárí, Péshutanjí Vikají a Pársí, and Rámaswámi Mudaliyar a Madrásí.

It is here necessary to digress for a short while into a subject that has formed the basis of one of the bitterest controversies that ever disturbed Anglo-India—viz., that which raged over the transactions of Messrs. Palmer & Co. Perhaps no story connected with India, excepting that of Warren Hastings, has been argued out at greater length, more voluminously written about, and more often epitomised according to the views of the writer than this one; but as it crops up again at so much length in the diary, the task of once more bringing the leading facts regarding it before the reader becomes a necessity. In 1799 Mr. William Palmer, the son of General Palmer, formerly Resident at the Court of the Péshwá of Poona, by a Bégam of Lucknow, came to Hyderabad in a military capacity, his brother, the well-known Mr. John Palmer,

settling as a merchant at Calcutta at the same time. Subsequently Mr. William Palmer quitted military employment and started the mercantile firm of Palmer & Co. By the time Sir Henry Russell was Resident and Chandú Lál was Minister, and the financial difficulties of the State began to be more than embarrassing, *i.e.*, about 1810, this firm had become possessed of the control of a large capital. This they employed in advances to the Nizám's Government on assignments of revenue at an interest of 25 per cent. Rupees 200,000 a month were advanced in this way on assignments valued at 3,000,000 rupees annually. There was no express guarantee that the firm would be protected, but it was understood both by the lenders and borrowers that the British Resident endorsed the transaction. Thus matters went on till the arrival of Sir Charles Metcalfe on the scene in 1820. By this time the members of the firm had become a danger to the State, and were in a fair way of becoming the assignees of its entire revenues. In 1820, ostensibly to relieve the Nizám of the great pressure of his debt to them, a gigantic loan of 6,000,000 rupees, payable in six years at 18 per cent. interest, was negociated—but there was to be a bonus of 800,000 rupees to be paid to the firm for the accommodation, which materially increased the rate of interest. Metcalfe boldly set to work to stop this "plunder of the Nizám," but he was met with so influential an opposition that for a time his efforts altogether failed. Sir William Rumbold, the son of a Governor of Madras, who had married a ward of the then Governor-General, Lord Hastings, and had come

to India in his train, had joined Palmer & Co. Here then was a backstairs influence, such as a native intriguer dearly loves, and nothing could persuade the people of Hyderabad that this "son-in-law" of the Governor-General was not possessed of immense power. It appears that as regards the firm there was no lack of disposition to trade upon this notion, and it led to those large allowances to the members of the firm of Palmer & Co. and their families, which further helped to impoverish the State. Metcalfe's proposed remedy for all this was drastic and simple—to raise a six per cent. loan to the Nizám in Calcutta, guaranteed by the British Government, in order to enable him to pay off all debts such as he owed Palmer & Co. This meant ruin to the firm, who did little other business than their Government transactions, and they set all their influence with Lord Hastings to work to prevent it being carried out, and as long as he remained Governor-General they were successful. About this time Metcalfe became aware that some of the Residency Officials had been themselves mixed up in Palmer & Co.'s doings, and this led to the famous affidavit by Messrs. Palmer and Rumbold purporting to state on oath that nothing of the kind had occurred. However, on July 1, 1823, Lord Hastings left India, and under Mr. John Adam, his temporary successor, the debt to the firm was soon discharged, and in the same year it became bankrupt from natural causes. By the discomfiture of this house the Nizám's Government was undoubtedly saved from destruction; but the firm had many friends, and these created that six days'

debate in the Court of Proprietors in 1824, which proved to be a greater sensation than had any Indian matter since the trial of Warren Hastings. Even now apologists for Messrs. Palmer & Co. seem to be forthcoming on occasion. It may be noted here that Mr. William Palmer died at Hyderabad in 1867, a pensioner on the Nizám's Government, aged 87.

The practice of the State of borrowing from its servants was a yet more dangerous matter than these banking troubles, and financially even more objectionable, for it directly led to increased permanent expenditure. Because, when the administrator of a province was applied to, he would stipulate that the commission or percentage he received from the State for collecting and managing the revenue should be raised. Again, a military chief—as will be seen later on—held all the contracts for the supply and pay of the troops under him, and when asked for a pecuniary subsidy he would make it a condition that the number of his forces should be raised, whereby he would permanently benefit. He also became a standing opponent of economy and reduction, and what was worse still, he acquired an interest in the non-settlement of his accounts, for adjustment would undermine his power, and as long as they were left open he had a sort of leverage on the Government to maintain his troops and keep up his contracts. Ministers were thus forced to entertain troops they could otherwise have well spared, and owing to the complications arising from such a system as that above described, the military accounts became intricate and involved.

This led to disputes between the treasury and the troops whenever pay was disbursed, and thence to the well-known 'city dangás' of Hyderabad. A *dangá* was a riot, more or less sanguinary, stirred up by a military chief, or his men, in order to enforce the payment of salary in arrears, or the settlement of a disputed item of account.

The practical reform of this terrible state of things was one of the achievements of the Sálár Jang, the greatest Minister that ever controlled the territory of the Nizáms. At the time under consideration he was in the midst of his work and in some respects in the midst of his greatest difficulties. The subject of reform is therefore constantly mentioned in the following pages. The treaties of 1853 and 1861, under which Berar was assigned to the British Government in order to secure the payment in the future of the Hyderabad Contingent Forces, relieved the finances of the most imperative of all the demands upon them, and enabled the Minister to bring the public expenditure below the income, so as to provide a margin for reducing the outstanding debts, which so terribly affected the welfare of the State. The first step was to lower the power of the *daftardárs*, so as to bring the accounts under the direct control of the Minister, and, after beating down much severe opposition, this was effected. The chief of them passed away by retirement and decease, and their successors relapsed into their original status. Then some of the more urgent military accounts were cleared off, leading to some bad *dangás* or pay riots, but these became less and less

frequent and finally entirely ceased. This measure permitted reductions in the number of the troops, though these were carried out in one case, at least, by the forcible expulsion of the men discharged. Also new loans were raised at much more reasonable rates of interest than before, owing to the improved credit of the Government, resulting from the measures just detailed: *i.e.*, the interest payable on them was reduced from 18 and 24 per cent. to 8 and 12 per cent. Lastly, the State jewels were redeemed from mortgage, and the last of them, the Nizám's Jewel already mentioned, was restored to His Highness's coffers in 1867. The public debt of Hyderabad had never reached an amount which could be held to be unmanageable under a proper system of finance; and between 1853 and 1867 it had been paid off so fast, that in the latter year it was calculated that only ten more years were required to free the State of debt altogether.

One other fiscal reform of this time must be mentioned, viz., the introduction of the *hálísikka* (halysicca) rupee. The Deccan for many years was troubled with a variety of debased coins, issuing from various district mints at Sugúr, Gadwál, Gurmitkál, Náráyanpet, the suburb round the Residency, and elsewhere. In 1856–57 all the mints were abolished except that at Hyderabad, and this issued a new standard rupee called the *hálísikka*, *i.e.*, the modern coin. The old coinage was not recalled, but was naturally rapidly replaced by the new and more trustworthy one.

It will be seen from what has been above explained,

that in 1867 the state of the army was a burning question at Hyderabad. The Nizám's troops were at that time a mixed force in the fullest sense, and were under three separate and independent commanders, the Nizám himself, the Minister, and the Amír Kabír. All this was exclusive of the Hyderabad Contingent, a force kept up and disciplined by the British Government at the Nizám's expense, and for many years previously, in one shape or another, the main source of His Highness's military strength.

The nucleus of the Hyderabad Contingent was Russell's Brigade, a section of the Nizám's forces organized on the British-Indian model by the Resident, Sir H. Russell, during the Pindárí war of 1817; but the Minister's or Díwání troops grew up in various miscellaneous ways. In the first place there were the well-known Arabs of the Deccan. Though of older origin, this force really owed its effective formation to the flocking into Hyderabad of Arabs thrown out of service by the destruction of the surrounding Maráthá States in the beginning of this century. The further progress of this body, containing in itself all the vices that have ever been attributed to foreign mercenaries, was fostered by the policy of Rájá Chandú Lál, the Minister between 1820 and 1845, till at last it began to defy alike the authority of the Nizám and of the British Government In the second place, there arose a body of Sikhs, chiefly during the ministry of Rájá Chandú Lál, who was himself a Sikh. It was apparently hoped that it would prove a counterpoise to

the Arabs, but in the result it only served to aggravate the troubles of the unhappy State. Then there were northern Muhammadan bravoes and adventurers from Oudh, Sindh, and Balúchistán, called by the general name of Rohéla, whose numbers gradually increased till by 1840, they had assumed formidable proportions. These men were, in truth, the freelances of the Deccan, abounding in personal valour and prowess, but possessed of an evil fame, and never really deserving the name of soldiers. To these must be added miscellaneous troops termed "Line-wálás," who were a remnant of the first European style of force organized for the Nizám. Under the Minister were also the *mansabdárs*, or retainers, who were counted as soldiers, though many of them were only nominally so. They were persons who received a stipend on condition of rendering fealty and service whenever required. This motley crew numbered about 31,000 altogether, or 26,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, the main details of the infantry being: Arabs, 6,000; Sikhs, 1,000; Rohélas, 2,000; Linewálás, 15,000; Mansabdárs, 2,000.

The troops under the Nizám's own command were the Sarf-i-khás force, about 8,500 strong, and almost all Dakhanís, while those under the Amír Kabír were called the Págáh, or Bodyguard, numbering about 4,000, of whom, however, about a third were cavalry. The components of these forces varied considerably, from fairly drilled and disciplined men, dressed and armed on the European model, down to downright "irregular" rabble. They were maintained from the

revenues of lands set apart for the purpose, known as the Sarf-i-khás and Págáh lands, of which a good deal will be heard in the diary.

Lastly, the Reformed Troops will be constantly mentioned in the following pages, and these consisted mainly of the body called by the natives after its head-quarters at the Gosha Mahal, near Hyderabad. They numbered about 2,500, and were included in the Díwání troops. They were disciplined and drilled under European and Eurasian officers, and the major part of them were in excellent condition.

Thus, in the aggregate, the Nizám's army, excluding the Contingent, was estimated to number about 43,500, and to cost on the whole about ninety-four *lákhs* annually. These figures, however, were merely estimates, as the system of military administration did not admit of any accuracy as to muster-rolls and returns of expenditure. The troops were paid always through their chiefs, whether these received their grants from the treasury, or were given assignments on the revenues of districts, called in consequence the *tankhwáh* (or pay) *ta'lukas.* The army was, in fact, raised, paid, mustered, equipped, and accounted for by the military chiefs. When a chief was entrusted with the entire management of a district, the management, if the chief was a capable man, admitted of becoming a regular feudal system; but when he merely received a lump sum and settled with the men in his own way, anything like a military organization was destroyed, and the existence of a paper army was directly fostered. There was,

moreover, never any commander-in-chief, and what musters there were, were held separately in sections, so that the same men appeared at various musters! Lastly, except as to actual payments from the treasury to the chiefs, all that could be stated by the Government as to the amount of the military expenditure was that the districts administered by the chiefs were estimated to yield a certain gross revenue! To reform this state of affairs was, as will be seen, a continuous anxiety to the Sálár Jang.

In order to make the diary clear, it is, however, necessary to enter a little into some of the details of the composition of the army. The cavalry was in separate bodies, numbering from 400 down to small parties of eight and ten, each body being under its own leader or Jama'dár. The horseman was the relation, or dependant, or otherwise the servant, of his Jama'dár, who disbursed his pay and provided his horse, arms, and accoutrements. In other words, there was a thoroughly feudal relation between the Commander, or Jama'dár, and the Trooper, or Sawár, and the cavalry generally possessed all the advantages and disadvantages of feudality. With very few exceptions they were Muhammadans, and in some instances formed an excellent "irregular" body, the troopers being high-spirited and of good descent, and their horses of the best Dakhaní breed, while their commanders were persons of position and respectability, first rate men both as to character and family—indeed, the very flower of the population. It was among the good

cavalry, in fact, that the real chivalry of the Deccan was to be found. To be added to these were the Wanpartí Lancers, 275 in number, originally belonging to the Rájá of Wanpartí, but in 1867 forming a part of the Reformed Troops under a European Commandant, who kept them in good order.

There was very little artillery worth mentioning, and this chiefly consisted of two bullock batteries of a superior kind, belonging to the Reformed Troops, and under European officers.

Of the infantry, the Arabs formed the most important section, the real strength of which lay in the true Arabs (*asal*) in it, *i.e.*, those who were either born in Arabia, or were sprung from Arabian parents. These formed two-thirds of it, the rest being *mawallads*, or the sons of Arab fathers and Indian mothers. The *asal* Arabs possessed many martial and soldierly qualities, especially courage and endurance; and their aptitude for holding together by mutual aid and support in moments of danger or trial was remarkable. Though undisciplined and untrained, they were skilful in some kinds of fighting, particularly under partial shelter. Behind any sort of cover they were formidable, but in the open they would not face disciplined troops. Their arms were matchlocks of considerable range, and formidable daggers, called *jambírs*. Their violence and lawlessness had been notorious, but their conduct had improved before 1867, though even then it was far below the proper standard. The *mawallads* had the same characteristics as the *asals*, though toned down.

The men generally were under Jama'dárs, with regard to whom they had the same feudal relation as the troopers had towards their commanders, as already described; and between them and their Jama'dárs the only officer was the Cháús—a word, by the way, of Turkish, and not Arabic, origin. The principal Arab Jama'dárs—often mentioned in the diary—were 'Abdu'llah *bin* 'Alí, the Saifu'ddaula, a man of advanced age, of much celebrity in the Deccan annals, and reported to be immensely rich; the Barak Jang, the son of the well-known Jama'dár 'Umar *bin* 'Aud, a *mawallad*, reported to be as rich as the Saifu'ddaula, and to be well disposed towards the British; and Ghálib *bin* Almás, the Ghálib Jang, Kamkámu'ddaula, a well known *mawallad* leader of advanced age.

The Sikh infantry were under Jama'dárs in small numbers, but were paid by the Péshkár direct, though in the presence of their Jama'dárs. Of the Sindhí infantry not more than half were natives of Sindh. They were all under Jama'dárs in detached bodies.

The Linewálás, or troops formed on the European model, more or less, were Dakhanís and Hindustánís, and mostly Hindús, consisting, as usual, of several separate bodies. The best were the Finglass Corps, called after an Englishman, honourably distinguished in Hyderabad history, and still commanded by his descendants. After this came the Imrat Lál Corps, so named after its commander, formed out of the force organized by the celebrated Frenchman, M. Raymond, and disbanded in 1799. Another relic of the old

French ascendancy in the Nizám's Dominions existed in the person of M. Tenducy, an officer of the Sarf-i-khás force. Then there was Yásín 'Alí Bég's Corps, an inferior body, stationed at the palace, and several *jamí'yats*, or small bodies, from 50 to 350 men each under separate commanders. To all of these must be added the Joseph Cordoza Corps, once in the Rájá of Wanparti's service, but in 1867 included in the Nizám's Reformed Troops. It was a well-disciplined body.

Lastly, there were the Barkandázes, or miscellaneous Troops, in which were included the Lodhís, the Karnátaks, the Nizámats or Court Troops, the Rúmís (Turks, *i.e.*, Asiatic foreigners), and the Ráthors or Rájpúts.

In a Native State the police are always closely connected with the army, and as the subject of police administration constantly crops up in the diary, a brief notice of it is here desirable. In the Nizám's Dominions generally there never was a police force, as we understand the term, the duties of a constabulary being performed in a sort of way by the troops, the Jágírdárs, and other landholders, the assignees of districts under fiscal arrangements, and civil officials, *hawáldárs*, and so on, whose real duty, however, was the collection of revenue. But in Hyderabad, Aurangábád, and other large cities, under officers, styled *kotwáls*, were establishments strictly constituted as police, and exercising civil functions alone. The Kotwál of Hyderabad was always an important personage, ostensibly under the Minister, but mainly looking direct to the

Nizám for his authority. In addition to this there were fixed from time to time police posts, according as circumstances required, along the main lines of traffic.

The institution of the village watchman flourished in the Hyderabad Territories much as elsewhere in India, and was in Telingána strengthened by the immemorial existence of a sort of hereditary police official, styled the *munewár*. These men acted as rural chiefs, resolute to resist aggression from the Government, or their neighbours, and to keep the peace within circles of villages.

Such was the state of affairs out of which the Sálár Jang created the beginnings of an efficient Police Department, styled the Mahkama-i-Kotwálí. At first a civil force, called the Nizámat, was raised under the orders of four Zila'dárs to keep order, and then a general police force for the whole country was established under the orders of the district officers, and the general control of the Majlis, or Revenue Administration Board at Hyderabad. The district superintendents were called *muhtamims*; the inspectors *amíns*, the police detachments *iauks* (a Turkish word), and the posts *chaukís*. Ultimately the Majlis was relieved of police superintendence, and a chief police authority established, with five deputies, one for each fiscal division of the county.

From this arrangement, as from all other civil arrangements, were excluded the Sarf-i-khás Districts, the Págáh *jágírs*, the Jágírát, and the City of Hyderabad. In the Sarf-i-khás Districts the old style of

police still prevailed, and in the Págáh *jágírs* the Amír Kabír made his own arrangements, and that to some purpose. In the Jágírát was kept up a special force called the Mahkama-i-Kotwálí Berún-i-Balda, or Suburban Police Department. This was under Haidar Bég, an officer mentioned in the diary, and highly thought of by the Resident. His working was satisfactory, and considering he controlled the most important police jurisdiction in the country, it was fortunate that he managed so well. In Hyderabad itself the police remained, as of yore, practically under the personal supervision of the Nizám, and though the state of affairs showed a vast improvement over former times, though violence no longer stalked about in broad daylight, and though blood no longer flowed in the streets, the result was owing to the general amelioration and softening of manners, and to the forbearance of powerful factions rather than to any inherent force or vigor in the city police.

From a consideration of the police we naturally pass on to the administration of justice, a subject constantly in the thoughts of both Minister and Resident. In all that follows on this point it must, however, be borne in mind that in the arrangements of the Minister neither the Sarf-i-khás Districts, the Págáh *jágírs*, nor the Jágírát were included. In all these the chief carried on 'justice' as he chose, except that capital punishment and the most heinous crimes were referred to the Nizám. However, the regular Courts constituted by the Sálár Jang had begun to take up cases occurring in the

Jágírát, on references from the Jágírdárs, and thus it was hoped that by degrees a salutary and tolerably complete jurisdiction over these districts would spring up.

The grave and constant difficulties in the way of the Sálár Jang in reforming the Judicial Administration of the Territories committed to his charge will become apparent from many significant entries in the diary. It will be now sufficient to explain shortly the state of things he found, and how he set to work to create more satisfactory conditions. The original judicial system, such as it was, throughout the Nizám's dominions, was fairly complete as regards the Muhammadan, but left the Hindú population in ordinary matters to their own laws and usages. There was a Department called the Sadárat, of which the officers were the Sadr Amín and the Sadr Sadúr, who tried civil causes. There were also Kázís established everywhere, to whom reference was made in cases involving a knowledge of criminal and customary law. In Hyderabad itself the Kází, as will be seen later on, was an official of much importance. Mercantile disputes were settled by arbitration. But under any circumstances few judicial awards could be carried out without the support or the interference of the Executive.

Between 1820 and 1845 these judicial arrangements were almost obliterated, and there grew up a variety of usurpations on the part of individuals; in other words those who were strong enough systematically took the law into their own hands. Thus the Arab chiefs claimed

the sole right of punishing offences committed by their own men, and enforced payment of their own debts by confining the person of the debtor, or by surrounding his house with armed parties! The same procedure was resorted to by noblemen, and even by rich bankers and traders!

In all the efforts to reform this state of things a distinction was always observed between the city of Hyderabad and the *ta'lukas* or districts. In 1846 the Suráju'l-Mulk, then Minister, appointed judicial officers in each district under the titles of *mír 'ádil* and *munsif*, who were made independent of the Executive. In Hyderabad he set up a Criminal Court entitled the Sultání 'Adálat, and a Special Court called the Pádsháhí 'Adálat for the trial of Arabs and similar turbulent characters. He also established a Díwání 'Adálat for civil cases. The authority of these tribunals was fluctuating and sometimes precarious; for influential persons, whether military chiefs, powerful landholders, rich bankers, noblemen of rank or persons about the Sovereign, sometimes refused to submit to their jurisdiction and no decree of any consequence could be executed without reference to the chief executive authority, and even then the ultimate execution often failed. At the same time, all irregular and improper jurisdiction exercised by individuals was prohibited, and to some extent prevented.

It was in 1865 that the Sálár Jang undertook to continue this commencement at judicial reform, and throughout the territories under him he introduced the frame-

work of a real judicial system, by turning the executive district officers into judges and magistrates of degrees, under the supervision of a Central Court at Hyderabad, termed the Mahkama-i-Sadr. This was an Appellate Court with full powers, except as to death, which required the sanction of the Minister; but it was subject to the review of the Majlis-i-Muráfa' or Supreme Court. In Hyderabad he established two Civil Courts of grades, called the Senior (*Buzurg*) and Junior (*Khurd*) Díwání 'Adálat; while for criminal cases he erected a Police Court, Kotwálí 'Adálat, and a fully empowered Criminal Court, the Faujdárí 'Adálat. This last was, however, subject to the Majlis-i-Muráfa', which thus became the Supreme Court of the whole of the Nizám's Dominions. The chief judge of a Court held executive control over it and was called the *názim*.

The Dáru'l-Kazí or Kází's Court was, as has been above said, an important complement to the above. On its civil side it took cognizance of suits of inheritance and so on, and on its criminal side every case of murder in the City was referred to it for a *fatwa*, or decree, before sentence was passed by the Criminal Court. The Kází, of course, administered only Muhammadan law, and his Court was fortunate, owing to ancient sanction, in meeting with less opposition from the people than those newly established. There was also a Mahkama-i-Sadárat, or Court for the trial of suits connected with religious endowments and charities.

The Minister had, in addition, a Judicial Department, under an officer who was really his Judicial

Secretary. To this came the returns of all the Courts, and it settled all sorts of troublesome matters arising out of disputed execution of decrees, resistance to judicial process, and the like. Cases of this description were both numerous and important, for the Courts still practically relied on the Minister to execute their decrees, and enforce their authority.

All this was an immense improvement on what had gone before, but the old evils were still far from completely overcome. The arrears in all the Courts were chronic and very numerous, and the difficulties and delays met with in the dispensing of civil justice can hardly be conceived by any but those who have seen something of them. For example, if the plaintiff was a man of consequence, he took his time, and was not to be hurried in producing his proofs; if the witnesses were the dependents of an influential party, their attendance could only be procured by a regular negociation; if the defendant possessed any armed force, and was inclined to exert it, he had to be brought to terms without severe coercion, as that might lead to bloodshed! Again, when after endless delay a decree was given, the execution proved a yet more delicate affair. It was, in fact, in Hyderabad City difficult to get a decree at all, and still more difficult to have one executed!

Another evil the Courts had to contend with was the deficiency of the stamp system. There was a Stamp Office on the British model, but it was practically inoperative in the City. The consequence was that the power to present plaints on unstamped paper encouraged

the making of groundless and exaggerated claims, and rendered parties careless as to the prompt prosecution of their suits.

The rules of procedure were few and elementary, and, though Hindú and Muhammadan law was followed as occasion required, procedure mainly rested with the judge. Fine was the chief punishment, and imprisonment was carried out in the local jails, which were much like those of a freshly-acquired British district, and, judged by that standard, were fairly well ordered. Death was by decapitation, and long-term convicts were usually deported to British penal settlements, under a special Act of the Indian Government.

The judges were mostly *maulavís*, often fairly trained, and all well educated. Some of them by firmness and uprightness brought credit on their calling; such were Karámát 'Alí and Nasru'llah, of the Faujdárí 'Adálat and Muhayyu'ddín, and his son, Amínu'ddín, of the Judicial Department.

As regards the general civil administration, there was naturally many a conference between the Minister and the Resident, and perhaps the grandest of all the Sálár Jang's many achievements was its substantial and effectual reform.

Originally the Nizám's Dominions were divided into six Governments, or Súbas; *viz.*, Birár Painghát and Birár Bálághát (now Berar, or the Berars, under British management), Aurangábád, Bidar, Hyderabad, and Bíjápúr, which last consisted of the Raichúr and Kulbarga divisions of the old 'Adil Sháhí Monarchy of

Bíjápúr. Each Súba was divided into Sarkárs, or Divisions, and each Sarkár into Ta'lukas, or Districts. The head of a Súba was the *súbadár*, or shortly, *súba*, an office that rapidly fell into abeyance, and now exists only in the title of the modern *ta'lukdár* of Aurangábád.

Each *ta'luka* was under a *ta'lukdár*, whose office was modelled on the same plan as that of the modern district officer of British India, as he was the local collector of revenue, the dispenser of justice, preserver of the peace, and general administrator. It is clear that in the scheme of Government which contemplated his existence it was intended that he should be a specially selected and regularly salaried resident official; but this was apparently never the practice. We have already seen how districts came to be handed over to military chiefs, and the civil creditors of the Government, with *carte blanche* as to management, and, as a matter of fact in the remaining cases, the *ta'lukdár* was habitually appointed on account of position and influence, and remunerated by a commission on the revenues he collected, and by a percentage to cover the costs of administration. So long as he paid the stipulated revenue to the Government he might govern as he pleased, provided the Minister was not worried by violent and persistent complaints. He might reside where he liked, and usually did reside at the capital, leaving a deputy, or *náib*, to do his work for him. This *náib* was usually a mere office hack, with limited authority, and on a perfectly inadequate salary; and

yet he was locally the only official referee the people had, and the only representative of the Government! Again, in times of financial difficulty, the *ta'lukdár* was required to pay a *nazar*, or large money fee on appointment, to the Government, and sometimes even a year's revenue in advance!

This system naturally led to crying abuses, and in 1820 the despatches of the Resident, Sir Charles (Lord) Metcalfe teem with details of the evils it led to. These he remedied for a time by establishing European officers in different places to watch over the native administrators; but in 1830 native supervisors, called *amíns*, were substituted for them, and had to be withdrawn in 1840 as unfitted for their purpose!

In 1855 the Sálár Jang commenced his reforms by gradually taking the *ta'lukas* out of the hands of those to whom they had been hypothecated; an operation which involved settling the demands of the assignees, and satisfying their claims. This was called officially "the resumption of the *ta'lukas*." The *tankhwáh jágírs*, those assignments of land revenue to military chiefs in lieu of pay due to their men, already explained, were similarly treated, and as each *ta'luka* or *jágír* was resumed, it was placed under a *ta'lukdár* of a new description, who was a regularly-salaried government official.

By 1865 the Zila'bandí System was introduced, under which the *ta'lukas* were redistributed among fourteen districts or *zila's*, which became the administrative—and, as we have already seen, eventually also the

judicial—divisions of the country. The *zila'* or district officials were the first (*awal*), second (*doyum*), and third (*soyum*) *ta'lukdárs* and the *tahsíldárs*. The *ta'lukdár awal* was a true district officer, *i.e.*, he was the collector of revenue, arbiter of landed tenures, controller of the police, magistrate, civil judge, and general manager. The others were his assistants, while the *tahsíldárs* were subordinates in charge of the subdivisions into which his district was split up, mainly for fiscal purposes, as in in British India. From this system were, as usual, excluded the Sarf-í-khás districts, the Púgáh *jágírs*, and the Jágírát, in all of which public affairs were conducted as of yore. In addition to these, there were scattered *jágírs* in the various districts, which were more or less under the *ta'lukdárs*, but whose owners often asserted independent jurisdiction.

To supervise the district officials was appointed in 1864 an Administrative Board, the Majlis-í-Málguzárí, consisting of five members (*rukn*, plu., *arkán*) and a secretary (*sáhib-i-dastkhat*), which controlled the revenue (*málguzárí*) and the police (*kotwálí*), locally inspected the *ta'lukdárs'* offices, and was the official channel of communication between the district officials and the Minister. It worked well as far as it was able, but its organization was found to be unwieldy, and so its sphere of operation and its numbers were reduced, and in 1867 it consisted only of two members and a secretary. The superintendence of the *ta'lukdárs* was now entrusted to five Sadr Ta'lukdárs, who corresponded in many respects to the Revenue Commissioners of British India. This

was the crowning reform of all, and led to the organization of the Díwání Territories into five divisions, sixteen districts, and 114 subdivisions. The following table showing these will be useful to the student of the diary:—

Division.	District.	Subdivisions.
Northern . .	Médak	5
	Indúr with Sírpúr-Tandúr	12
	Yalgandal . . .	9
Eastern . .	Khamman (Wárangal) .	9
	Nalgunda , . .	5
	Nagar Karnúl . . .	8
Southern . .	East Raichúr . . .	5
	West Raichúr. . .	4
	Shúrápúr . . .	4
	Kulbarga. . . .	6
Western . .	Bidar	7
	Nándáir	9
	Naldrúg	9
North-Western .	Aurangábád . . .	10
	Párbhaní. . . .	6
	Birh	6

No account of the administration of the Nizám's Dominions at the period under consideration would be at all adequate without some reference to the methods employed for raising revenue. Two-thirds of the State income came from the land (*málguzárí*), and it is this point that must claim our chief attention.

In the land revenue arrangements there had always been a distinction made between Telingána and Maráth-

wárí. Indeed, the first Nizám had combined the Súbas of Hyderabad and Bidar in a revenue *daftar* or office, called the Daftar-i-Telingána, and the Súbas of Aurangábád and Bíjápúr in the Daftar-i-Maráthwárí. To manage these he especially introduced two capable outsiders, the Daftardárs above referred to, whose offices unfortunately became hereditary, as is usual in native India, in their respective families, viz., of the Rái Ráyán (the Roy Royan of many old books) and of the Rájá Indarjít. The *daftárs* were originally constituted for the record of all papers regarding the land, but how they developed into an efficient means for private peculation has already been seen.

In Telingána the fundamental tenure of land was the well-known ryotwari (*ra'íyatwárí*) system, by which the ryot (*ra'íyat*) or peasant proprietor, cultivated his fields from father to son, giving up something less than half to the State, but possessing no positive right to the land, though practically keeping undisturbed possession as long as his dues were discharged. The cultivable country was parcelled out into villages and estates. Each village was controlled fiscally by an hereditary *patél*, remunerated by a percentage on its revenues, with whom was sometimes associated a *faujdárí patél*, to suppress crime and keep the peace. There was besides a *pándya*, or hereditary accountant and record keeper, called also *patwárí* and *muharrir*. In some places villages were grouped together in circles under *déshmukhs* (or head *patéls*) and *déshpándyas*. In this part of the country the ryot paid his revenue in grain,

which, after conversion into cash by the local banker, was forwarded to the Government.

In many parts of Telingána, too, there existed from ancient times Zamíndárs, or local magnates, who were entitled to dues (*rusúm*), *i.e*, a percentage on the revenue of a certain area; but beyond these dues they could not necessarily claim any further income from the land. These Zamíndárs, however, were often employed as revenue farmers of the tracts which they controlled, and which were officially called when in this condition, *sarbasta*. This system had one good effect. Tracts rendered *sarbasta* could not be given over to military chiefs or bankers, for though the Zamíndár might be exacting, he had a local feeling, and was an easier master than the Arab or the alien banker. Zamíndárs, who were also revenue farmers, became powerful personages, and when, unfortunately for the people, their farms happened to be assigned in *jágír*, they could be ousted only after a severe collision with the assignee.

In Maráthwárí the prevailing tenure was of a similar nature, except that Zamíndárs and *sarbasta* lands were rare, and the revenue was commonly paid by the ryot in cash after an appraisement of the standing crop, termed *áchní*. Consequently it was in this *daftar* that assignments of revenue were most frequently made.

In the days of Nizám 'Alí and his minister the 'Arastú Jáh or the 'Azimu-l-Umará, the land revenue arrangements were tolerably efficient; but the farming system, which even then existed, continued its pernicious growth, till, in the evil days of Chandú Lál, the fact

that the ryots were not oppressed by farmers, who were chiefs residing in Hyderabad city, beyond endurance, was mainly to be attributed to the patience and forbearance which, despite all its other grave defects, distinguished that Minister's administration.

We are now brought down to the date of the Sálár Jang's reforms in this direction. In Maráthwárí, money payments under agreements called *kauls* were instituted, and care was taken to see that the *kauls* were fair and that no exactions beyond them were demanded. In Telingána, the introduction of universal cash payments was more difficult, as the people were not accustomed to them, but even there they became the rule. Further, the preparation of the necessary papers, the classification of soils, the appraisement of field areas, the general statistics as to population, houses, implements, and cattle, and the records of changes in assessment began to be made in a manner that reflected credit on the Minister's arrangements. All this was effected, too, without interfering with ancient rural rights, and the *déshmukhs*, *déshpándyas*, *muncwárs*, *patéls*, and *patwárís* did not find themselves disestablished. One of the effects of these improvements was that the land revenue—*i.e.*, as regards the public treasury receipts—increased 20 per cent. in the five years preceding 1867!

The next most important item of revenue consisted of customs (*sair*) and octroi dues (*karúrgiri*). In 1802 the Nizám concluded a treaty with the British Government, which should have placed these matters on a

good basis. It provided that internal transit duties should be abolished, and that the import and export dues should be fixed at 5 per cent. *ad valorem.* Up to 1863, however, the evil of transit duties existed to its full extent, for this pernicious tax was maintained by *ta'lukdars*, *jágírdárs*, *zamíndárs*, assignees of revenue, and all who were independent enough to impose it. But in consequence of the urgent representations of Sir G. Yule, the Sálár Jang succeeded, with the cordial approval of the Nizám, in abolishing them. In 1864 further steps were taken to properly carry out the treaty of 1802. Grain was allowed free importation, and exportation on a duty of eight annas per bullock-load, and the 5 per cent duty on all other articles was strictly enforced by means of published schedules. Regular frontier custom-houses were established, a proper octroi cordon instituted round Hyderabad, Aurangábád, and other places subject to this special tax, and arrangements made by which no article was taxed twice over—*i.e.*, both at the custom-house and the octroi post.

Excise (*ábkárí*) was also an important source of revenue. It was raised on liquors obtained from the palm (toddy or *tádí*) and the *mahwá* tree, and on drugs produced from opium, *ganjá* (hemp), and *bhang*. As a rule, the excise of each district was farmed out to the highest bidder (*ijánadár*) under certain regulations, much as in British India—a system that seems to be well suited to the country.

Other sources of income were *déshpatí*, or local funds,

péshkash, or tribute from local Rájás, mint dues, *nazáránás*, or succession fees paid by chiefs, stamps, and a curious profit on exchange. This last arose from the old system of multiple coinage, above explained. Thus in Hyderabad City all salaries were calculated in *sugúr* rupees, and paid in *hálísikka* rupees, the difference being 10 per cent to the profit of the Government. The ryots, too, were originally assessed in *sugúr*, but eventually, in *hálísikka* rupees. A portion, however, still paid their assessments in a coin superior to the *sugúr*, though inferior to the *hálísikka* rupee; the difference between this and the *sugúr* constituted a profit to Government. The exchange revenue which had thus arisen was nearly as large as that from excise!

The above might be well conceived to be a goodly show of reforms for one minister to have accomplished in so short a space as fourteen years; but the Sálár Jang's activity by no means rested here.

A public works department was hardly likely to be created by such a Government as that of the Nizám's, and nothing of the kind did in fact exist; but a beginning was made by the Sálár Jang by the systematic employment of European and Eurasian engineers in the repair of the artificial reservoirs, or "tanks," which were of such paramount importance to agriculture in the Deccan, and these local officers were supplemented afterwards by the appointment of a sort of chief engineer and public works secretary at headquarters. In Telingána the stability of the land

revenue and the very life of the ryots depended on the "tanks," and so many of them had fallen into disrepair that the question of putting them once more into order had become one of primary urgency.

As to roads, the Nizám's Government never *ex proprio motu*, undertook road-making at all, and a normal road was a track rudely formed by cart ruts, and other marks of traffic; but at various times the British Resident succeeded in inducing it to allow funds for something in this direction along the most important lines of communication. Somewhat in this way, at the period under consideration, several real roads, of no great length however, were being commenced.

As regards municipal sanitation, the prejudices against it were strong and deeply rooted; but something towards improvement was being effected, though as a result of the persistent representations of the Resident rather than of spontaneous effort.

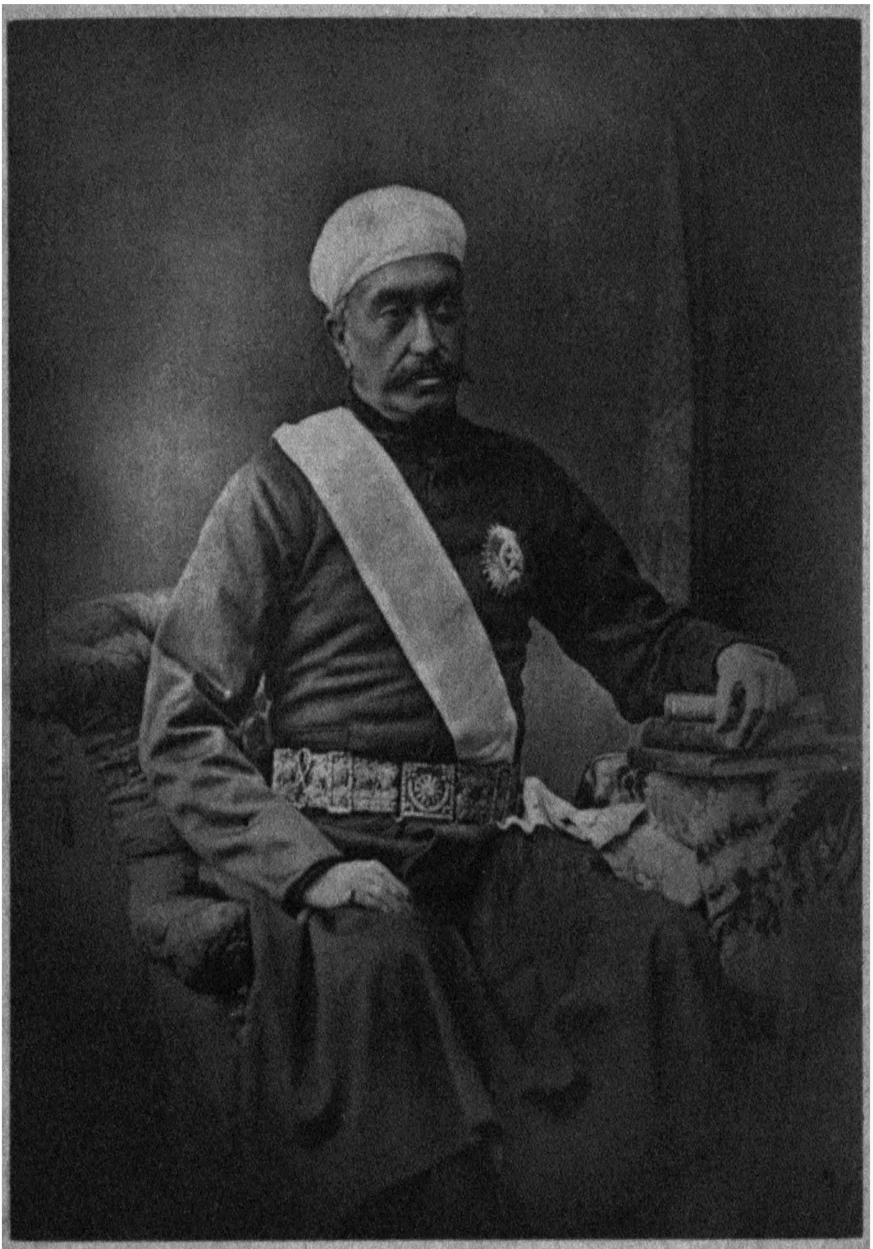
Education, both general and medical, also claimed a share of the Minister's attention. In 1856 he established a high-class school at Hyderabad itself, and afterwards eight more at the headquarters of districts. He also appointed a secretary to himself, who was to make a circuit of the country, and to report as to its educational needs. In 1846 Dr. Maclean, the Residency Surgeon, started a medical school, which was sedulously superintended by his successor in office, and its pupils either practised privately—much to the public benefit—or superintended the eighteen dispensaries, which were in full working order in 1867. The

Minister took a great interest in the welfare of these institutions, and in the year just mentioned appointed an official visitor.

Lastly, the Deccan, being a hilly country, contained forests, which, though not of any great size, were numerous and worth preserving, and accordingly, in 1867, the Minister laid the foundation of a regular forest department, which promised well, if properly managed in the future.

Such is briefly the story of the wonderful improvements effected by the Sálár Jang during the first fourteen years of his administration. He lived to continue his good work for sixteen years longer, but it was during these earlier years that he met with his chief external difficulties. It must be remembered that the above is a tale of reforms carried out, not by an able man with the help and approval of his compeers and superiors, but in the face of persistent opposition, offered by jealous and powerful personal enemies, and of the most vexatious and senseless interference on the part of his sovereign. How trying his position was during the lifetime of Nizám Afzalu'ddaula every page of the diary abundantly shows. He passed his life, indeed, in the cold shadow of the indiscriminating disapproval of a master to whom he looked for applause almost by hereditary instinct.

The reader will doubtless be interested to know what manner of man he was that did so much. On the 26th May, 1853, his uncle, the Suráju'l-Mulk, died in office as Minister, and on the 31st he was



The late Nawáb Mír Turáb 'Alí Khán Bahádur, Sálár Jang,
Shuja'u'ddaula, Mukhtáru'l-Mulk,
commonly called
SIR SALAR JUNG, G.C.S.I., D.C.L.

appointed to succeed him by the Nizám, though only twenty-five years of age: and this is how he himself described the circumstances in a private letter, dated the 2nd of June, to Mr. Dighton, the banker already mentioned, then living in England. "On Monday evening, 30th May, I was unexpectedly ordered by His Highness to attend the *darbár* next day, and to bring two *sarpéches* [turban ornaments], and also to write to the Resident, and ask him to attend at the same time, and, without any solicitation on my part or my grandmother's, His Highness was pleased to confer the office of Díwán on me at the *darbár* the day before yesterday.* * * * I should have been quite content to remain in unmolested possession of my uncle's *jágírs*, were it possible, without the cares which such an office would impose upon me, especially in the present critical state of affairs here; but I was advised by my friends, European and native, and with too much appearance of truth to reject the advice, that if I declined the office myself and family would be utterly ruined.* * * I shall, nevertheless, do my best, with God's help, to restore some order in the affairs of this country, and endeavour to extricate the Government from its embarrassments." How nobly the young Minister redeemed this promise is a matter of general history. Writing of him, the compiler of the diary to which these pages are an introduction, says in his *Men and Events of my Time in India*—"He had been from his earliest years educated under European supervision, and trained especially for his high office. He

was therefore qualified in an unprecedented degree for his public and official duties, which he discharged with an unwearying assiduity, an integrity, and an efficiency hitherto unknown in the Deccan. He was a gentleman in the highest sense of the term, the quality of his mind being indicated by his discreet manner and refined aspect.* * * I regarded him (when Resident at Hyderabad) more than any other native of India I had ever met. Yet he was kept by the Nizám in a state of thraldom, and was almost a prisoner in his own house, unable to move beyond the outer gates of his court-yard without his master's permission. If he wished to give a social entertainment in his summer-house outside the city, or attend a parade of British troops, or have an interview with the Resident, he must ask leave, not as a mere formality, but as a request that might be refused, or which would be grudgingly granted. I had much business with him, and its transaction was difficult, because to have seen him often would have renewed the Nizám's jealousy, and to have sent him papers in despatch-boxes would have been open to the same objection. He did not seem to regard this in the light of a personal grievance, as he shared the reverence which his countrymen felt for their master. He was seldom admitted to the Nizám's presence, and when he was he used to be almost pale from agitation. He must have been quite hopeless of conciliating his master, yet he was perfectly loyal, and would have undergone any labour for the welfare of his liege.* * * He had never, up to 1867, seen any place but Hyderabad, and

his being confined to one spot was disadvantageous to him as an administrator. Indeed, considering how restricted was his actual vision, I was surprised to find that he had so much liberality and comprehensiveness of view. But no administration in India can prosper unless it be inspected by its chief from time to time; hence the public interest demanded that he should make tours through the country, see his officers at their work, observe the needs for works of improvement, and hear the grievances of the people. The Nizám would never allow this, unless moral pressure were applied to him by the British Government; even then he would only yield after a lengthened, and perhaps an embittered, argument.* * * The Minister strove manfully to reform every part of the administration, the land revenue, the dispensation of justice, the police, and above all the finances. Without evincing forceful energy of the highest kind, he was full of activity and promptitude, and though his temperament was nervous and susceptible of agitation he was resolute, capable of maintaining self-command in danger, and animated by the spirit to be expected in a man of high birth. His sensitive disposition, harassed by many trials and troubles, would probably have worn out his body, had it been feeble; but his frame, though not robust, was wiry. As an administrator he was certainly not superior, and by many he would be thought hardly equal, to the two best Hindú Ministers of his day—Dinkar Ráo of Gwálior, and Mádhava Ráo of Baródá;—but as a man of business, especially in finance, he has not been sur-

passed by any native of India in this century, and his official assiduity and mastery of details left nothing to be desired. It was difficult to discern whether he possessed original ability of the Oriental type, as his mind was much modified by European influences, and he was an excellent imitator. Whatever improvement the British Government introduced he would sooner or later adopt, *longo intervallo*, perhaps, but still with some effect. Thus roads, caravanserais, medical schools, drains and causeways, besides many miscellaneous improvements, all had a share of his attention. He exercised his vast patronage well, appointing competent and respectable men to civil offices, and endeavouring to infuse an honest fidelity into the whole service of the State. That he fully succeeded in these efforts is more than can be affirmed, especially when it is remembered that the British Government itself cannot command entire success. At all events, British rulers have no great opposition to contend with, whereas he had many enemies, open and concealed, much hostile opinion, and a jealous master all arrayed against him. Upon a retrospect of the circumstances under which he had to act, it seems wonderful that so much was accomplished by him." Again, in the preface to the *Deccan Report*, 1868, the same writer says, "As my official connexion with Sir Sálár Jang is about to terminate, I may declare my belief in the rectitude and integrity, as well as the perseverance and ability, with which his administration has been conducted, and my esteem for the firmness and virtue by which his character is distinguished."

In later years, though the Sálár Jang steadfastly continued in his career as a wise and successful reformer, he became involved in a correspondence with the British Government as to Berar, which was not apparently pleasing to the latter, and his conduct with reference to what he considered the dignity of the boy Nizám, who succeeded Afzalu'ddaula, was perhaps not quite what it might have been; still, all who may read the following pages will feel that the panegyric above quoted was no more than the circumstances warranted.

The reason of the Nizám's strange conduct towards his Minister was that the latter's policy was consistently supported by the British Government, which made his master feel that he was really under his control in all State affairs; and so, chafing and fretting at this, he revenged himself by punctiliously enforcing a supervision in social matters. Whenever the Minister was called into His Highness's presence, he was made to feel thoroughly subdued; to his ear the word "presence" had an awe-inspiring sound, and for him his master had a quiet look of ineffable hauteur.

In 1867 the Nizám Afzalu'ddaula was practically dying of ailments which were curable by European medical and surgical skill; but being a man of the old school, he would have none of them, and soon afterwards succumbed to the disease aggravated by the treatment of unscientific practitioners and quacks. "He afforded an example of the effect of the enervating conditions of India, in the course of a few generations, upon the conquering tribes that came from Central Asia. A

Muhammadan of the best Mughal blood, and born of a stock which had sent forth men of courage, capacity, and perseverance, he had never learnt even the rudiments of government, had received but slight education, and was not actually competent to conduct any important business. He had a tall massive figure, a handsome countenance, and the dark-blue eye, characteristic of his race. In his youth he had been trained to manly sports and pursuits, but had long led a secluded life in his palace and gardens, associating chiefly with humble dependents. His health was enfeebled and his constitution impaired by his own imprudence; and he was addicted to superstition, soothsayers and astrologers having much power over his impressionable mind. If there was any idea in politics on which his thoughts fixed themselves, it was that whatever was novel must be evil, and that any so-called reform which the British Resident might suggest should be regarded with circumspection. He desired if possible to keep his people aloof from all European notions, social as well as political. Such notions might act on their minds, he would say, as a whirligig, and cause their thoughts to spin round and round! For all that he was loyal to the British Government, which he felt to be his sole support: only he wished that it would leave him to his own devices and never interfere, save to throw its ægis over him if he were threatened with insurrection, or to rescue him from his financial difficulties should they prove otherwise insurmountable. He had some power of humorous sarcasm, and

though ordinarily apathetic, he had an 'unbounded stomach,' and was quickly susceptible of anger. Such was the man that the Muhammadans of the Deccan venerated as the embodiment of authority. He must have been endued with generosity and other cognate qualities, in order to attract and retain the chivalrous affection of his people." His attitude towards the railway to his capital, then being proposed, was most characteristic. He regarded the project with an undefined horror as being likely to upset all orthodox notions. He said "it would make the popular mind gyrate and swing backwards and forwards with a movement like that of children at a fair!" To the financial part of the scheme he gave not a moment's thought, so insignificant did he regard it in comparison with the two cardinal evils of upsetting the minds of his subjects, and adding to British influence in his dominions. So much did he dread the British Government and dislike its civilization, that it was only because he felt it to be his one strong tower of refuge in extremity that he accepted its railway at last as a crowning evil.

The influential authority at the back of the Minister in all his attempts to do good was the British Resident, and the mutual relation between Resident and Nizám in 1867—though events have since somewhat altered it in favour of increasing the Resident's power,—is best described in the words of the Resident himself. The position was necessarily undefined, and the Nizám was very tenacious of what he held to be his prerogative. "During the early days of the political struggles of

the East India Company the Nizám was regarded in treaties as an ally, or an equal; and though he soon became its dependent, still the form and style of equality was preserved. His obligation to govern his territories according to the advice of the Resident was quite vague and slight; nevertheless, in practice it had come into real existence. Formally, he was not bound to seek the counsel of the Resident, but he was so practically, because his predecessors had allowed the State to drift into violent disorder, from which extrication was impossible without British assistance. Nothing but British power, represented by armed force, prevented his State from being torn to pieces by factions, and saved him from being a prisoner in his palace to his own guards. Thus, although the Resident had not, either in the wording of the treaties or the terms of his credentials any declared right of interference, yet he was the Atlas on whose shoulders rested the government of the State. He had to interpose whenever actual disturbance threatened, when, indeed, his aid would probably be invoked; otherwise, he avoided as much as possible the semblance of interference, and left the native Government to manage for itself, without being weakened by overmuch supervision, on the understanding always that it must keep the general course of affairs tolerably straight."

In addition to his political duties the Resident administered purely as a civil officer the Hyderabad Assigned Districts of Berar, amounting in importance almost to a Province of India. The only difference

being that all surplus revenue was handed over to the Nizám's treasury, and a statement of its finance periodically submitted to him. He also independently controlled and managed the Hyderabad Contingent, the force kept up by the English under treaty to keep order in the Nizám's dominions, as occasion might arise. It will be seen, therefore, that his political duties by no means occupied all the Resident's time, and though no reference to these civil duties is made in the pages of his political diary, it should be borne in mind that this heavy demand upon his energies was never absent from him.

Having thus described in outline the actual condition of the affairs to which the diary refers, it is necessary to explain as briefly as may be something of their previous history, especially as many references are made in the diary to the doings of previous Residents and Ministers and comments made thereon. For the purposes of this volume it is best to divide the History of the Nizám's Deccan into three portions; concerning respectively the Rulers, the Ministers, and the British Residents.

The Rulers of the Deccan were, of course, originally Hindús, but no object would be gained now by going into this part of the subject, and it will be sufficient to commence with the advent of the Muhammadans into Southern India. In 1294, 'Aláu'ddín, nephew of Jalálu'ddín Fíróz Khiljí, Emperor of Delhi, made an expedition into the Deccan directed against the Rájá of Deogirí, now called Daulatábád, near Aurangábád, which resulted in the temporary submission of the Hindú

chief. In 1306 the Rájá of Deogirí rebelled, and an expedition against him under Malik Káfúr, the notorious eunuch and favourite of 'Alau'ddín Khiljí, then Emperor, again succeeded in reducing him to submission. In 1309, in another expedition, Malik Káfúr conquered the Rájá of Wárangal. In 1310 he went further south and reduced the Ballála Rájá of Dwarma Samudra in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam. In 1312 the Rájá of Deogirí again rebelled, but was overcome by the redoubtable eunuch and put to death. Lastly, in 1318, after the death of Malik Káfúr, the titular Rájá of Deogirí made a last effort to drive the Muhammadans out of the Deccan, but failed and was executed. Thus in the days of 'Aláu'ddín's son, the Emperor Kutbu'ddín, the northern portion of the Deccan came under Musalmán sway, and by 1325, when Muhammad Tughlak was on the throne of Delhi —the dynasty having by this time changed—Wárangal was captured, and the central and southern parts of the Deccan added to the Muhammadan dominions. It may be as well to add, as an indication of the severity of the struggle between Hindu and Musalmán in these parts, that Wárangal was not finally reduced till 1421. We now come to the foundation of Vijayanagar on the banks of the Tungbhadrá, the last great Hindu State of the south, which arose in 1336 on the ruins of Wárangal and Dwarma Samudra, and which proved a thorn in the side of the Muhammadans for 250 years afterwards.

The enormities of the Emperor Muhammad Tughlak, his wicked attempts to transfer the inhabitants of Delhi

to Daulatábád, and the revolts of the Deccan Provinces, leading to the foundation of the great Báhmaní Dynasty in 1347, are matters of general history. This dynasty, first at Kulbarga and subsequently at Bidar (Ahmadábád as these kings called it) lasted nominally till 1526, but in reality its territories had been already split up and divided between the five famous Sháhí dynasties of the Deccan. These were the Ima'd Sháhs of Ilichpúr in Berar, the 'Adil Sháhs of Bíjápúr, the Nizám Sháhs of Ahmadnagar, the Kutab Sháhs of Golkonda, and the Baríd Sháhs of Bidar itself.

The next important point for the present purpose in the history of the Deccan was its reconquest by the Mughal Emperors of Delhi, after a fitful series of wars begun by Akbar and ended in 1687 by Aurangzéb. After the death of Aurangzéb, however, as is well-known, the Mughal empire began to rapidly disintegrate, and it was in the troublous times of the Emperor Muhammad Farrukhsiyar, Aurangzéb's great-grandson, that Mír Kamru'ddín, better known by his title of the Chín Kalich Khán, was appointed Súbadár of the Deccan, with the title of the Nizámu'l-Mulk in 1712.

The founder of the Dynasty of the Nizám was a true Sayyid, *i.e.*, he was of real descent from the Prophet Muhammad. His family had settled in Central Asia—whence his "Mughal" origin—and his grandfather, 'Abid Kulí Khán, who, under the title of the Chín Kalich Khán, played a great part in India, came over from Bukhárá, of which town he had been Kází, to the Court of Emperor Sháh Jahán in 1658. Eventually he

was killed at the siege of Golkonda in 1687, immediately after which the Emperor Aurangzéb finally subdued the Deccan. His son was Mír Shahábu'ddín, who also as the Gházíu'ddín Khán, and afterwards as the Fíroz Jang, had a great share in the reduction of the Deccan, and in keeping in check the Maráthás, by this time a dangerous power. He died in 1710 at Ahmadábád as Súbadár of Gujarát. From such men as these was sprung the far more famous Mír Kamru'ddín, who first as the Chín Kalich Khán, and afterwards as the Nizámu'l-Mulk, or shortly the Nizám, became a leading figure in the history of that time.

From 1712, the year in which the Nizámu'l-Mulk first received his great title and the Government of the Deccan, to 1723, when he received his title of the Asaf Jáh, the name by which he is now best known to the natives, and from which his dynasty is by them called the Asafía, he led a chequered life, into the details of which it is not necessary to enter. Suffice it to say that after the latter year he became practically an independent ruler. The rest of his long life, till his death in 1748 at the age of seventy-nine, was taken up mainly in settling his kingdom and in wars with the Maráthás, fought with varying success on both sides. He was also engaged in a rebellion with his son Mír Ahmad Khán, the Násir Jang, and had a hand in the affairs connected with the incursions of the notorious Nádir Sháh into Northern India, which took place at this time.

For the next fourteen years the history of the Dakhaní Dynasty assumes the usual Oriental complexion, and

we are once more called upon to hear a story of assassination, murder, and usurpation. The Násir Jang, that one of the six sons of the Nizámu'l-Mulk who has been already mentioned, succeeded him, and his short reign of two years is chiefly interesting from the fact that we now first hear of the French, who backed up a nephew of his in rebellion against him. In the end a peace was being patched up between the opponents, when the celebrated Dupleix attacked the Nizám's camp. Meanwhile the Nizám himself was shot dead by the Nawáb of Karnúl, a supporter of the French, and Dupleix took the opportunity to proclaim the nephew, the Muzaffar Jang, Nizám of the Deccan.

French influence now became paramount in the Deccan, but Dupleix's *protégé*, the Muzaffar Jang, did not last long, being killed within a month of his accession in an affray raised by the Nawáb of Kadapa, through whose territories he was marching *en route* to his capital from Pondicherry. However, on his death the French under M. Bussy raised another son of the Nizámu'l-Mulk, the Salábat Jang, to the throne. This reign lasted till 1762, and throughout the whole of it French influence at Hyderabad remained unabated, though in 1755 the English began to put in an appearance and to have a share in the direction of Deccan politics.

In 1762 a third son of the Nizámu'l-Mulk deposed the Salábat Jang and commenced a long and important reign, being known to history as the great Nizám 'Alí. In this reign there occurred the usual give and take wars

between the Nizám and the Maráthás, but the struggles between the French and the English form the point of interest at present. The cession of the Northern Circars of the Madras Presidency to the British in 1765, which were claimed by the Nizám as part of his territory, and the disturbances created all over Southern India by the notorious Haidar 'Alí in 1779, and by his equally notorious son, Tipú Sáhib in 1786, led first to the mission of Mr. Holland to Hyderabad, and then to the appointment of a British Resident at the Nizám's Court. Meanwhile French influence waxed and waned under the redoutable commander M. Raymond, in whose train were both Perron and Baptiste, names famous among the European adventurers of that day. Raymond died in 1798, and soon afterwards, under the influence of the English, his forces were disarmed and disbanded in quite a dramatic manner, and with this event ended the French ascendancy at Hyderabad. The actual disarmament was carried out by the "Subsidiary Force," troops first raised by the English under a treaty in 1765 to support the Nizám's Government, and at that time held in much esteem. Not long afterwards the war between the English and the Maráthás broke out, which led to the battle of Assaye in 1803, and in the same year the Nizám 'Alí died, leaving British influence established once and for all in his dominions. In this reign, too, one of the Nizám's sons, 'Alí Jáh, rebelled, but after a time he was overcome and poisoned himself.

Nizám 'Alí was succeeded by his son Nizám

Sikandar Jáh, who reigned till 1829, in an uneventful manner. His term of power is chiefly remarkable for the machinations of Rájá Mahípat Rám against the British rule, towards which on the whole he took up a loyal and honourable position; and for the vigorous efforts of the Resident, Sir Charles Metcalfe, to counteract the evil influence of Rájá Chandú Lál, the virtual Minister during the last ten years of this reign. It was at this time that the Nizám's Government began to drift into those terrible financial and administrative troubles so often referred to above.

The next Nizám was Násiru'ddaula, who also ruled for a long while. His reign was marked in 1840 by a serious Wáhhábí conspiracy aimed at the overthrow of the English, which was eventally traced to the Mubárizu'ddaula, the Nizám's uncle; in 1847 by great sectarian riots in Hyderabad between the Suní and Shí'a Muhammadans, in which the former mainly triumphed; in 1853 by the assignment of Berar to the English; and by the appointment later on of the Sálár Jang as Minister. In the early part of it the Ministry of Rájá Chandú Lál and all its attendant evils continued till his resignation in 1843, and after that till 1853 the administration of the country was for various reasons in a state of the greatest confusion. Personally the Násiru'ddaula seems to have been an upright and tolerant man.

He died in 1857, and his successor was Afzalu'ddaula, the Nizám on the throne when the diary was written, and about whom so much has been already said. The chief event of his reign previous to 1867 was the

mutiny, during which, as is well known, he and his Government remained loyal to the English. He died in 1869, and was succeeded by his infant son the reigning Nizám, Mahbúb 'Alí Khán, during whose long minority the Sálár Jang continued to work so well, till his sudden death from cholera in 1883.

Turning to the Ministers, the early ones may be passed over till we reach the great Díwán of the Nizám 'Alí, Ghulám Sayyid Khán, generally known by his titles of 'Azimu'l-Umará and 'Arastú Jáh. This Minister personally helped the English in their operations against Tipú Sáhib in 1791, and in 1795 he went in captivity for two years to Poona, after the disastrous battle of Khardlá in one of the many wars between the Nizáms and the Maráthás, as a hostage. While there he aided Bájí Ráo in obtaining the throne of the Péshwás of Poona, who out of gratitude restored to the Nizám the territories lost after Khardlá. It was also greatly owing to his firm support of the English that the French were finally driven out of Hyderabad. He died in 1804, not long after his master the Nizám 'Alí.

His successor in office was Sayyid Abu'l-Kásim, the Mír 'Alam, who in 1786 had represented the Nizám's Government at Calcutta, and had acted as Minister from 1795 to 1797, while the 'Azimu'l-Umará was absent at Poona. Between 1791 and 1799 he much aided the English against Tipú Sáhib, and was present at the taking of Seringapatam. On his return to Hyderabad, however, he fell into disgrace at Court till he

succeeded the 'Azimu'l-Umará as Minister, holding that office till his death in 1808. His great public work was the well-known lake near Hyderabad, named after him, and constructed out of his share of the prize money after Seringapatam.

He was succeeded by the Muníru'l-Mulk, his son-in-law, but he was practically a cipher, the real authority resting with his deputy Rájá Chandú Lál, the Péshkár, who, after his death in 1832, became Minister in name as well as in fact. This official rose to his high position by degrees from one of no importance. As regards his work and the results of it, which were deplorable enough, as the diary shows, various and conflicting opinions have been held, and perhaps the great evils that grew up and flourished during his long tenure of office may, after all, be put down chiefly to inherent weakness of character and want of moral courage. He resigned in 1843, when 77 years of age, and for the next ten years there was much confusion of Government, there being seven changes in the Ministerial office within that period. Among the Ministers of the time were the Shamsu'l-Umará and the Suráju'l-Mulk, the latter of whom only need be noticed now. His two tenures of office, covering four years between them, were mainly taken up in fighting as best he might against the overwhelming financial difficulties alluded to above. In 1853 he died, and was succeeded by his nephew, the great Mír Turáb 'Alí, known to the English as His Excellency Sir Sálár Jang, G.C.S.I., D.C.L., to the native official world of Hyder-

abad as the Mukhtáru'l-Mulk, and to the local public at large as the Nawáb Sáhib *par excellence.*

It is only necessary here to say a word as to his family, and as to one point in his history previous to 1867. He was descended from a family which had held various important Court and military appointments, first under the 'Adil Sháhí kings of Bíjápúr, then under the Delhi Emperors, and lastly under the Nizáms. Of these, Safdar Khán, after many services, received the title of Muníru'l-Mulk from the first Nizám, and died in 1775. His third son 'Alí Zamán Haidar Yár Khán was the Muníru'l-Mulk, who married both the daughters of the Mír 'Alam, and succeeded his father-in-law as Minister. By his second wife he had issue, among others, two sons, Muhammad 'Alí Khán, the Sálár Jang, and Ghulám 'Alí Khán, the Suráju'l-Mulk. The latter became Minister, as we have seen, and the great Sálár Jang was the son of the former. The present Minister at Hyderabad, Mír Láyak 'Alí Khán, the Sálár Jang, is his son again; so that, in his case, his father, great-uncle, great-grandfather, and great-great-grandfather have all been Ministers.

In 1867, just before the diary commenced, there had been an open split between the Nizám and his Minister, which occurred in this wise. Communications between them were officially made through *vakíls* or agents, and while some negociations regarding the mutual extradition of certain criminals were being carried on between the Nizám and the British Government, the former began to show displeasure against the Sálár Jang. At this

juncture the old *vakíl* died, and the Nizám appointed one Lashkar Jang, a man of known bad character and an avowed enemy of the Minister, to be *vakíl.* The Sálár Jang naturally sent in his resignation, and then occurred a general disturbance of the political peace. Sir George Yule, the Resident, energetically protested against the acceptance of the resignation, and induced the Amír Kabír to interfere on the Minister's behalf. In the end, the Nizám was pacified, Lashkar Jang dismissed, and the Minister restored to favour; but the circumstance always seemed to rankle in the Nizám's mind, and it accounts for a good deal of the feeling of insecurity evinced by the Minister throughout the diary.

Turning to the British Residency we find that the post of Resident at Hyderabad arose out of the mission of Mr. Holland in 1779 regarding the administration of Gantúr to the south of the present territories of the Nizám, and it was with the affairs of this district that the next two Residents, Mr. Grant and Mr. Johnson, were chiefly concerned; but the matter was not settled till the time of Sir John Kennaway, 1788–1793.

We now come to the Ministry of the 'Azimu'l-Umará, 'Arastú Jáh, and during his time the Residents were the two Kirkpatricks: Major William from 1793 to 1797, and Colonel Achilles, his brother, onwards to 1805. It was during the incumbency of the latter that the Residency was built at Chadarghát. He further married a Muhammadan girl, whose title was the Mihra'nnissá, and for whom was built the well-known Rang Mahal

near the Residency. Up to this date, too, the Nizáms had kept up an envoy at Calcutta, but the post was abolished, and Colonel Kirkpatrick was the first Resident who represented both Governments.

His successor was Captain Sydenham, 1805–1810, who supported the Mír 'Alam generally in his policy, but he seems to have mixed himself up too much with local affairs, and this led to his censure and resignation,—a fate that had previously befallen Messrs. Grant and Johnson. Then came Sir Henry Russell, 1810–1820, the friend and supporter of Chandú Lál, in whom he could never see any serious fault. He, too, formed an alliance with a Muhammadan lady.

The next Resident was the great Sir Charles (Lord) Metcalfe, 1820–1825, whose energetic remonstrances against the evils of the day, and right and useful, though locally unpopular, attempts at reform are matters of general history. The other Residents during the troubles, which grew more and more aggravated until the appointment of the Sálár Jang as Minister, were Mr. Martin 1825–1830, Colonel Stewart 1830–1838, General Fraser 1838–1853, and Colonel Low 1853. Of these, General Fraser was the most outspoken in his censure of the terrible misgovernment that afflicted the State. After this, the appointment of Mr. Bushby, 1853–1856, Colonel Davidson, 1856–1862, in whose time the Mutiny had to be faced, and Sir George Yule, 1862-1867, brings us down to the time of the author of the diary.

It is worth mentioning here that the earlier Residents

are locally known by the native titles conferred on them by the Nizáms of their day. Thus Sir John Kennaway is Diláwar Jang, Col. Kirkpatrick is Hashmat Jang, Sir Henry Russell is Sábit Jang, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, Muntazimu'ddaula.

Throughout the diary will be found mention time after time of the family of the Amír Kabír, Shamsu'l-Umará. The Amír Kabír, the chief noble of the Nizám's Deccan, is the representative of Shekh Faríd Shakarganj, who flourished 1173–1265, and lies buried at the famous shrine of Pákpatan, in the Panjáb, and who has left behind him one of the best known names in all Indian hagiology—a name, in fact, that is still daily on the lips of rich and poor, Hindú and Musalmán alike, throughout all Hindustán. The earlier descendants of this great saint attained to high posts under the Mughal Emperors of Delhi; but the fortunes of the Hyderabad noble's family were founded by Shekh Abu'l-khair Khán, the friend and follower of the first Nizám, also died in 1752, in the time of Nizám Salábat Jang, as a great noble of the State. His son, Abu'l-fatteh Khán, won the entire confidence of Nizám 'Alí, and became the first Shamsu'l-Umará. It was to this noble that in 1777 the command of the Body Guard and the Págáh *jágírs*, which really made the family what it now is, were granted. He died in 1786, and was succeeded by his son, Muhammad Fakhru'ddín Khán, who married into the royal house, and added Amír Kabír to the family titles. His bent was scientific, and his attainments in this direction very

considerable, and his work of much use to his contemporaries in the East. He is described in *Men and Events of My Time in India* as having "the most picturesque and interesting aspect I ever saw in any native of India—the features being manly though delicate, their expression calm yet vigorous." His successor in 1853 was Muhammad Rafí'u'ddín Khán, the Amír Kabír, Shamsu'l-Umará, of the diary, who died in 1877. His brother, Rashídu'ddín Khán, the Vikáru'l-Umará of the diary, succeeded him, and lived till 1881, when the family honours fell upon his son, Khurshéd Jáh, who is the present Amír Kabír, and who is frequently mentioned in the pages that succeed.

The following description, given elsewhere by the author of the diary, of Muhammad Rafí'u'ddín Khán, the Amír Kabír, Shamsu'l-Umará, of whom we shall hear so much presently, is worthy of reproduction here. "The Amír Kabír was a high-born Muhammadan of the old school, refined, dignified, and judicious, though somewhat enfeebled by age. His face and aspect would have made a fine subject for the portrait painter. His inner thoughts probably clung to the old ways, and he never lent himself to promote reforms; still he realized the progress that was going on in the outer world, and desired that the Nizám's Government should march with the age, and maintain good relations with the British. He was so placed that he wanted nothing for himself or his friends, and felt no jealousy of the Minister or anyone else. He thus acquired the position of consulting-physician to the State. Though

possessing firmness and courage, he loved tranquillity, and seemed to regard violence and lawlessness as essentially vulgar. His opinion had much weight with the Nizám; indeed he was at that time the only man who had any influence over His Highness for good."

With this quotation must conclude this necessarily, but perhaps not unduly, long introduction. It is hoped, however, that the reader will now find himself in possession of all the facts and explanations requisite to the ready comprehension of the pages of the diary, though the entries in it naturally cover an infinitude of topics.

PRIVATE DIARY OF POLITICS

AT THE

COURT OF THE NIZÁM OF HYDERABAD

FROM APRIL 7, 1867, TO JANUARY 3, 1868.

SUNDAY, *April 7th*, 1867.—Leaving the Sholapur Railway Station in the afternoon, I had a brief interview with Mr. Sherwood, the Railway Engineer, who told me that the line thence to Kulbarga in the Nizám's Territories would be completed in a year, or year and a half; but would be finished for about half that distance in a few months. He remarked that the line ran along a barrier ridge, with rich valleys on either side, which he regarded as unfortunate. He then went on to say that the Railway authorities found no difficulty at all with the people in the Nizám's Territories; indeed, they got on quite as well in His Highness's Dominions as in British Territory.

About nightfall, proceeding by express mail-cart, I crossed a small stream which divides British Territory from the Nizám's Dominions, and shortly after dark

I arrived at 'Idgal, where I was met by Kásim Yár Jang Bahádur, the Ta'lukdár of the old Dháráseo District. He gave me a letter of introduction from Sir G. Yule, and said that he had the chief civil command in the district; that there were some fourteen other such districts into which the Nizám's Deccan * was divided; and that there were *ta'lukdárs* of two or more grades. His manner was that of an educated native gentleman.

I then proceeded to Naldrúg, where I stayed the night, and there met the subordinate native officials of the place, who appeared to be respectable men enough of the ordinary stamp. I also met there a European official, formerly in the Railway service, who described himself as employed in looking after district roads. He said that the Minister intended to employ him in making a Revenue Survey of the Dháráseo (now Naldrúg) District after the method adopted in the Bombay Presidency. I doubted, however, whether any such intention had been really entertained.

MONDAY, *April 8th.*—Early in the morning I proceeded on my journey, and shortly after leaving Naldrúg entered into the Págáh *'iláka* of the Amír Kabír, or Shamsu'l-Umará. I was escorted by *sawárs* in bright green uniform, well mounted and appointed. I noticed that there were frequent police posts along the road kept up by the Amír Kabír, and as I passed over it the

* It may be as well to note here that *Deccan* is the English way of pronouncing the word *Dakhan*, which means 'the South,' and was originally applied to the southernmost portion of the Mughal Empire, now "the Deccan," partly in the Nizám's Dominions and partly in the Bombay Presidency.

men were all "attention" at their posts. If they were *always* so, the road must have been very well protected; but of course, that was another question!

Further on I met the Jágírdár of Kalyání mounted on an elephant, and after that, while stopping to change horses I had a conversation with a *déshmukh* and *désh-pándya*. They said that they enjoyed fixed allowances in land and cash from the Nizám's Government, and declared themselves satisfied with their maintenance. They had in return to keep up some small establishments and to look after defaulting ryots.

I thus reached Hominábád, where I was met by the Mu'tamidu'ddaula, deputed by the Nízam to meet me. He also brought an introduction from Sir G. Yule, and seemed to be a tolerably educated man. He had been for a short time in England, but had not learnt much of European things. He began to ask me about the improvements carried out at Nágpur, and then *à propos* to nothing particular enquired whether any system of vaccination had been introduced. I answered, "Yes, within a limited tract of country." He thereupon remarked that the people in the Nizám's Deccan would not consent to measures of this kind. Why he made that remark seemed strange at the moment, especially as the Nizám's Government had rather distinguished itself in medical reform. I took it to mean, under correction, that he deprecated my attempting to urge improvements of this kind.

Leaving Hominábád I reached Sadásheopet about ten o'clock at night, and was obliged to halt there by reason

of a bad storm of thunder and rain. As I entered the place the lightning lit up long strings of carts and merchandise stopping in the encamping ground.

TUESDAY, *April 9th.*—Early in the morning I resumed my journey towards Hyderabad,* meeting nobody of consequence on the road. I found all the tanks filled by the heavy rain, and heard that this would be a great boon for the cattle, which had suffered much owing to the murrains caused by drought in previous years.

As I entered the city from the west, the aspect of the place was very fine. The ground on all sides was strewn with masses of granite, while in the hollow fronting me lay the city and groves of Hyderabad. On my left front was the Hussain Ságar Lake and the heights of Trimalgiri crowned with the new Barracks.

I reached the Residency at noon, and had a conversation with Sir G. Yule. He told me about the recent dispute between the Nizám and his Minister the Sálár Jang. The rupture had been coming on for some time, but was brought out by the Nizám's attempting to force on the Sálár Jang a man named the Lashkar Jang in a confidential capacity; the Lashkar Jang being an enemy of the Sálár Jang and a bad man altogether. But now the breach was healed for the present, and the Lashkar Jang had been put into the background.

I then asked: "What should be done if the Sálár

* Hyderabad should be properly Haidarábád, the City of the Lion (Haídar), *i.e.*, of 'Alí, the son-in-law of Muhammad.

Jang should die, or if further circumstances arose compelling him to resign in earnest." Sir George replied that, in the first place, the Sálár Jang had a "good life," and was not likely to die; and that, in the second place, no effort should be spared to prevent his being turned out of office, but that if he did leave office, then the best thing would be to make the Amír Kabír Minister, with one or more deputies to do the work. He said that the Amír Kabír was in weak health, and incapable of work, but was really well-intentioned and free from corruption; that competent men of decent character could be found to act as deputies in the several departments; that there was no other person save the Amír Kabír, who would be agreed to both by the Nizám and by the British, and that the Amír's brother, the Vikáru'l-Umará, was able enough, but incorrigibly corrupt, and had been banished the Resident's presence for giving a bribe to an apothecary's wife with a view to influencing a former Resident to get the Sálár Jang turned out. Failing this arrangement Sir George could suggest nothing as feasible. There would be nothing for it but to guide the circumstances as they might arise.

I next asked what should be done if anything happened to the Nizám. Sir George said that this question had been thought over in the preceding year. The Nizám's former sons had died, and while His Highness was without a son he was taken ill. It was then decided, with the sanction of the Government of India, that the Nizám's brother should succeed; but that this was

kept secret for fear of jealousy arising between His Highness and his brother. Since then, however, a son, still, of course, an infant, had been born to the Nizám, and if anything now happened to him, the education of the boy should be entrusted to the Amír Kabír, the Sálár Jang being kept on as Minister.

Sir G. Yule went on to say that it was of great consequence to prevent any interregnum on the demise of a Nizám, as otherwise intrigues would arise, and that in any such emergency I must be prepared with prompt decision.

"The Nizám," he said, "is superstitious and surrounded with *fakírs*, and recently a new *fakír* has arrived from Madras and is in much favour." But he was of opinion that the Resident should quietly and cautiously take opportunities of himself talking to the Nizám about things in general. He said, too, that the Nizám, however much he might dread the English nationally and collectively, had no objection to us individually, and seemed to think us personally harmless and straightforward. It was more our Government and our policy that he feared. Consequently, he had no objection to our going about the interior of his country, and did not seem to be afraid of our spying about the villages. "The other day even," said Sir George, "the Superintending-Surgeon (Dr. Balfour) was allowed unmolested to smell about the city of Hyderabad itself, and look into the drains, &c. This was thought an innocent pursuit if the Superintending-Surgeon liked it!"

I also asked Sir George about taking off shoes in the Nizám's presence; and he said that the custom, so long established, could not well be broken through by any individual Resident without support from the Government of India, and that he had understood that the Government did not wish to interfere regarding this point.

WEDNESDAY, *April 10th.*—Early in the morning a deputation came from the Nizám himself, consisting of two native secretaries, to congratulate me on my arrival. They expressed hopes that there might be perpetual friendship between the two States (*fí mábain har do Sarkár*).

I attended at the opening of the new church at Chadarghát, and afterwards met the Sálár Jang at a luncheon party at the Residency. He reminded me of our former acquaintance in 1861 when I was on deputation to Hyderabad regarding finance, and he alluded slightly to the late rupture and to the personal restrictions imposed on him by the Nizám. I also met his nephew, the Mukaramu'ddaula, a fairly educated man, but rather opaque of intellect and somewhat obese.

In the evening I had a conversation with Sir G. Yule about the Nizám's rights respecting the Assigned Districts of Berar.* He agreed with me that we should

* It may be interesting to note here that Berar was taken over in 1853 with a debt of nearly £100,000 and a revenue (reported at £500,000) yielding only £380,000. Since that time, however, the revenue has, under British management, increased to £1,000,000, and the Nizám's Government has been paid in cash over £2,000,000 as surplus over necessary expenditure.

try to get some yearly surplus for the Nizám after defraying all fair charges of the Administration, and added that he was very glad to find that I held this opinion. I asked him whether it would be desirable to induce the Nizám to expend such surplus on works of improvement in the Deccan, such as irrigation, &c.; and he said that he thought this, if possible, an excellent plan.

Sir George also told me, in reference to a letter from the Sálár Jang to the Government of India, about the restoration of Berar, that he feared he must have got some bad advice from a European source.

During the day I asked Sir George whether the Hyderabad people appreciated the greatness of Metcalfe's character, and his conduct during his Residence. He replied that the Mughaláí people would never forgive him for setting European officers to watch over their misdoings; but that in other respects they admired his exertions to rid the Nizám's Government of its indebtedness and the shackles of its creditors.

THURSDAY, *April* 11*th*.—I pointed out to Sir G. Yule that my opinion as to the moral obligation we lay under to get, if possible, some surplus for the Nizám from Berar was nothing new, but was mentioned by Colonel Davidson and myself in our joint *Report* in 1861. I produced the passage in that *Report*, and he expressed his entire approval thereof.

In the course of the day Sir George explained the excellent conduct of the Minister, the Sálár Jang, in

getting the internal transit duties abolished. Afterwards—he knew not how—the Nizám was won over to the Minister's view, and in a public *darbár* in presence of the Resident, His Highness said that the abolition of those duties was proper (*munásib thá*), and when this was heard by the courtiers all opposition ceased from that moment.

In the evening Sir George adverted to the great difficulty which had arisen during the previous year in the City of Hyderabad from the dearness and scarcity of grain. While there had been a sufficiency of grain in the neighbouring countries there was half a famine in the City, owing to the impossibility of bringing in the grain in time. Great pressure had been put upon the Minister and the Resident to arbitrarily reduce the price of grain, but this was successfully resisted. The whole community, both Europeans and natives, were in favour of restrictive measures, and from the Nizám downwards there was not a person, save the Minister, who stuck to the principles of political economy. However, Sir George was convinced that more harm than good would come from interfering in such cases, unless actual famine occurred. But he thought that the importation of grain should be constantly watched, so that the chance of real scarcity might be obviated in the future.

FRIDAY, *April 12th.*—I spent a portion of the day in reading up the affairs of Berar, which related chiefly to matters of civil administration.

In the course of the day Sir G. Yule explained

further, that in the event of anything happening to the Sálár Jang and the Amír Kabír being made nominal Minister, it would be well to have more than one deputy—for instance, there should be one deputy for judicial matters, one for revenue, and so on.

As regards Berar, he said that one reason why the Nizám would never agree to Berar being administered by the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, was his dislike of the Berar people, His Highness's subjects, being obliged to go for justice or other business to Nágpur—once the seat of a Maráthá Government, of which the Dakhaní Muhammadans felt very jealous.

In the evening I met old Mr. Palmer, once of W. Palmer & Co., who spoke favorably of Metcalfe's conduct, when Resident, despite all the angry differences which raged at that time. He remarked on the present comparatively great refinement of Englishmen in India as compared with the days when he first came to Hyderabad. He also said that the Natives remarked that nowadays, as compared with former times, Englishmen were more outwardly polite towards them, but even more reserved than ever in reality.

During the day Sir G. Yule told me that one cause of the Sálár Jang's writing to the British Government about Berar was the strong pressure put on him by the Mughaláí (Royal or Palace) party, who said that his uncle, the Suráju'l-Mulk, had been the Minister who had given up Berar, and that he, the nephew, must make an effort to get it back.

He also told me that the native merchants and even the Muhammadan nobles of Hyderabad might be anxious to have the branch railway from Kulbarga to Hyderabad, but that the Nizám himself would probably never like it, because people would warn him that the "English were thus being brought nearer and nearer to his door."

SATURDAY, *April 13th.*—Early in the morning Sir G. Yule went alone to bid farewell to the Minister. On his return he told me that the Sálár Jang seemed at first to have been apprehensive as to what policy I might pursue, but that after hearing Sir George's explanation of my views, he seemed more than satisfied, and to look forward to my incumbency (so Sir George said) with "nothing but pleasure."

In the afternoon I took charge of the Residency affairs, and read up the correspondence about the late rupture, in which it seemed to me that the Amír Kabír had played an honourable part. This I pointed out to Sir G. Yule, suggesting that, after all, the Amír Kabír might do as Minister if occasion arose. He said that it might be so, but that the Amír Kabír was weak both physically and mentally.

During the day he told me that the Minister had great difficulty in procuring the enforcement of the decrees passed by the Courts in the City, and that I should take occasion to get the Minister's hands strengthened in this respect. He expressed a fear, however, that the Courts themselves were not so good as they might be.

He also told me that at the farewell interview the Minister said that the *vakíls* had come to report that the Nizám had had four dreams during the night! The Minister gathered from their account that all these dreams had some reference to the English: all of which, of course, was just a sign that the *fakírs* had been talking some superstitious nonsense to His Highness.

He further warned me that I should find the Nizám very unimpressionable in respect to good government of any kind; that His Highness was unable to appreciate the need of it; that even the spectacle of corruption and evil hardly affected him; that he wanted to have his favourites in power; and that he was conscious of ignorance, but that this increased his dread of enlightenment.

SUNDAY, *April* 14*th*.—Early in the morning I received a dispatch from the Government of India conveying high approval of Sir G. Yule's proceedings during the crisis between the Nizám and the Minister; also a *kharíta* (letter) from the Governor-General to the Nizám, earnestly counselling His Highness to keep square with so able and good a Minister. I immediately showed this dispatch to Sir G. Yule, and consulted him as to the way in which the Governor-General's *kharíta* should be delivered to the Nizám. Talking it over, we agreed that the best way would be not to send it through the Minister in the usual manner, but to put it into the hands of the Nizám, informing His Highness that it had not yet been made known to the

Minister. This, it was thought, would be satisfactory to His Highness, as preventing him from supposing that the Minister had procured the letter to be written, and as leaving His Highness as much as possible to settle with his own Minister. Sir George feared that the receipt of this letter by the Nizám would cause His Highness to explode into wrath against the Minister; and that though the ultimate effect might be good, still the first effect might be to cause the old jealousy to revive.

In the afternoon I asked Sir George whether or not I should in due course try to urge on the Nizám the necessity of cleansing and improving the city of Hyderabad, notwithstanding that such an idea might be distasteful. He said he had not as yet done so himself, but that this was merely because he had even more important things to urge. However, that had he remained, he would certainly have urged this also, and he thought that I ought to do so hereafter as opportunity offered. He considered that it ought to be done for the sake of the health of the people, which suffered so much from the existing dirtiness of the place.

MONDAY, *April* 15*th*.—Sir G. Yule departed at a very early hour before gunfire.

I saw Major Proudfoot, formerly a British Officer risen from the ranks, but now Military Secretary to the Minister for the so-called Reformed Troops. These troops were a portion of the Nizám's army which the Minister had had disciplined under British Officers.

A good part of the day was spent in receiving visits from the officers of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force from Secunderabad.*

I wrote to the Nizám's Minister about bringing to early trial before the Criminal Court of Hyderabad certain prisoners, who had been arrested, partly on British information, on a charge of high treason.

TUESDAY, *April 16th.*—Early in the morning Mr. Marrett called, whom I had known in the Deccan in 1861. He told me that the Mughal gentry of Hyderabad said that the reason of my being sent there was that the British Government was determined to get Berar annexed to the Central Provinces, and that I was supposed to be a man capable of procuring the Nizám's consent to this measure. I did not, however, feel disposed to discuss the point at all with him, and from one or two expressions which dropped from him, I rather feared that the Vikáru'l-Umará had been talking to the Indo-European community at Chadarghát.

WEDNESDAY, *April 17th.*—Early in the morning, it being one of the Muhammadan festivals at the close of the Ramazán fast, the Nizám sent a mace-bearer, with the customary number of twenty-four goats, which were divided among the servants. Afterwards there came a quanity of fruit, Nágpur oranges, the *phálsá* fruit,† &c., &c.

* Properly Sikandarábád, so named after the Nizám Sikandar Jáh. *Sikandar* is the Indian form of the European name *Alexander.*

† The so-called Indian hazel. It is the *grewia Asiatica*, and has a pleasantly acid taste.

and shall be much
obliged if you will
let me know the hour
which may be most
convenient to yourself
With kind regards
Believe me
Yours very sincerely
Salar Jung

The last sheet of a letter from Sir Salar Jung to Sir Richard Temple, written by himself in English.

[As a rule Sir Salar Jung merely signed his letters, which were written by a Secretary.]

Later in the day I heard that in the *darbár* held in the City the Nizám had decorated the Minister with jewels, especially the *sarpéch*, a kind of frontal ornament for the turban, which was considered a mark of high regard. All this was supposed to strengthen the Minister's hands, and to cement the reconciliation between him and his master. The news first reached me from a note by Major Proudfoot, the Minister's Military Secretary, to the officer commanding my escort, remarking that the Minister had come back from the *darbár* in high spirits at this open restoration to his master's favour.

In the afternoon a Mr. Bailly, a medical officer of a subordinate grade, reputed to be a very respectable man, called. He said that the Mughal gentry in Hyderabad imagined that the real object of my being sent there was to procure the annexation of Berar to the Central Provinces, and told me in effect just the same story as that which Mr. Marrett had mentioned. It must have been current no doubt, and perhaps was a feeler to see if any such idea was really entertained.

THURSDAY, *April* 18*th*.—Early in the morning I heard from the Minister, who detailed to me the jewels he had been honoured with at the *darbár* on the previous day, and which had been bought for the occasion for Rs.50,000.

During the day there came the chief native police officer, called the Zila'dár, who said that the Minister's hands had been much strengthened by the presentation of the jewels. This man spoke in high terms of the

Sálár Jang's firmness in suppressing crime. "If the Minister is weak" (that is, if he was not supported by the Nizám), he said, "then the police officials dare not arrest offenders; the *maulavís* presiding in the Courts of Justice dare not give decisions, or if decisions are given they cannot be executed; and everything quickly gets into confusion. But if the Minister is strong, then all the servants of the Nizám's Government do their duty." I asked whether he would dare to act against any person of influence? He said that under the above circumstances he would dare, and as an instance he mentioned that he had recently arrested a standard-bearer in the Nizám's household service for actively participating in a violent robbery. I asked him what would happen supposing the Nizám's personal servants were to tell His Highness that the police were arresting people wrongfully. He said that such a complaint would be referred by the Nizám to the Minister, who would vindicate the police, if they had really done no more than their duty. He then went on to say that the *maulaví*, who presided in the Criminal Court, had recommended eleven prisoners to be put to death for a bad case of robbery with murder. This he thought was an instance of the independent administration of justice. I should mention that this Zila'dár had been recommended to me by Sir G. Yule and other European officers as a man of tried merit and fidelity.

Shortly afterwards Aghá Muhammad Shustrí, formerly employed at Nágpur, came to see me, and described himself as the President of the Majlis-i-

Málguzárí. He said that the revenues generally were on the increase, especially the excise on spirits, and that much more might be done if the *ta'lukdárs* would obey the orders of the Majlis better.

This day I wrote, at the Minister's suggestion, to know what day the Nizám would fix for my first formal interview.

Good Friday, *April* 19*th.*—I was much surprised in the morning to find that there were published in *The Friend of India* verbatim extracts from the letters of Sir G. Yule to the Foreign Secretary about the rupture between the Nizám and the Minister, and also a circumstantial account of the Governor-General's letter to the Nizám—which letter *I had not yet had time to deliver!* I concluded that all this information must have been furnished to that newspaper from the Foreign Office in Calcutta—perhaps, or probably, with the permission of Government.

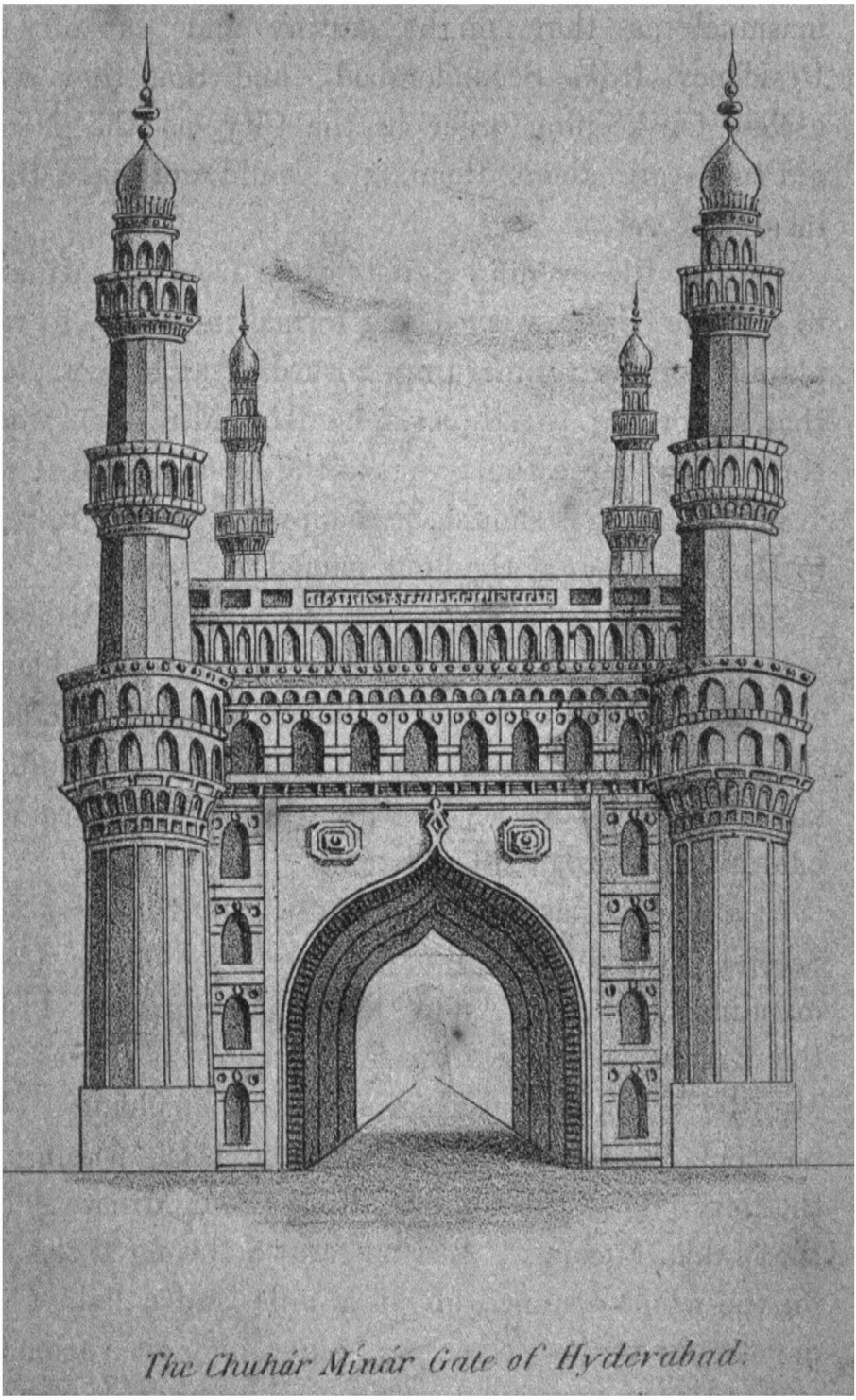
In the evening Col. Briggs, Military Secretary to the Resident, dined with me, and was talking about the Nizám's Reformed Troops. He thought that the policy of Sir G. Yule was to get these troops away from the Capital, and that one battalion had accordingly been sent into the interior. He also urged that the rest ought not to remain in their present position, just between the Residency and the Secunderabad Cantonment, where they were of no use, as the Contingent troops at Baláram were available for the suppression of civil disturbance: that in time of trouble they would be a positive source of anxiety,

inasmuch as they might mutiny and cut off the Residency from Secunderabad; and that they were useless for keeping order in the City, as the Nizám did not care about them, and would not have them inside the gates.

Late in the evening a note came from the Minister to say the Nizám wished the formal interview to take place the following morning, Saturday, at 11 A.M.; and that according to etiquette he (the Minister) would come to pay me a short visit at the Residency at 9 A.M. I replied that I should be happy to pay my respects to His Highness at the hour named.

SATURDAY, *April 20th.*—At 9 A.M. the Minister, accompanied by his nephew, the Mír Karamu'ddaula, and his Péshkar, or Deputy, Rájá Narindar, paid me a short visit of ceremony, saying that such preliminary visit was usual at Hyderabad when a new Resident paid his first visit to the Nizám.

At a quarter past ten, accompanied by the First and Second Assistants, Military Secretary, Officer Commanding the escort, and Residency Surgeon, I left the Residency. We drove in carriages as far as the Minister's house, and then mounted elephants. We now entered the main street of the City, passing by the lofty pile of the Chuhár Mínár (Four Minarets) and the Makka Mosque. A dense crowd thronged the way for the whole distance, about a mile and a half. The demeanour of the people was quiet and even friendly, their countenances indicating a good-humoured curiosity to get a look at us. There was not a sign of the



The Chuhár Mínár Gate of Hyderabad.

sullen, scowling, fanatical and insolent expression and demeanour for which the Hyderabad mobs used to be celebrated. They did not crowd nor press upon us, and the central part of the street was kept clear for the elephants apparently with little exertion by the police. Sometimes the people saluted us, but the salutations were not very frequent: still their general behaviour was respectful, and much the same as that of a crowd in the cities of British India on similar occasions. I noted that the drains of the City were running with liquid filth.

We arrived at the Palace at 11 o'clock. On the threshold I was received by the Minister, and it was remarked by the officers accustomed to see him that he looked in particularly good health and spirits. We were then received by the same secretary who attended at the first deputation to me, and then by the Amír Kabír.

On arriving at the threshold of the Nizám's audience-chamber, I took off my boots, which was easily done in a moment, and walked onwards, the Nizám coming forward and embracing me. He then sat down on a white cloth on the ground, and I sat down beside him on his left, the other British Officers sitting down in a line following me, while the Natives ranged themselves on the ground in a half-circle on His Highness's right. The Nizám seemed stouter than when I had last seen him in 1861, but he was in much better spirits than on the former occasion. Now, his countenance, so far from having the stolid hardened look,

sometimes attributed to it, actually beamed with a sort of graciousness, and the officers with me, who had often seen him before, thought that he seemed in good humour. He had on the insignia of the Star of India. He asked me a few questions about the Governor-General's movements, which was all that we expected he would do on this, a formal occasion, and then called for *'atar* and *pán.** His manner of speaking was not haughty, but was blandly defferential rather than otherwise. Impassibility, however, was the main idea expressed in his general demeanour. Getting up, I walked backwards a few paces and saluted him standing, while he returned my salute sitting.

On our way home several Arabs saluted us, and the officer with me remarked that their behaviour seemed better than usual.

SUNDAY, *April* 21*st.*—In the evening Col. Briggs dined with me. He said that while on the one hand the Resident ought to support the Minister, he ought on the other hand to insist upon having full communication with the Nizám. He also said that, despite appearances to the contrary, the Minister would always try to prevent his master seeing much of the Resident, and added that when the Sálár Jang insisted on sending the letter to the British Government about the restoration of Berar, the proper course would have been for the Resident to have insisted upon speaking to the Nizám, and that the bare threat of this would

* The distribution of these is the sign of the close of an interview.

have made the Minister withdraw the letter. He said further that he believed that some evil advisers must have, in that particular case, got the better of the Sálár Jang's discretion, and that such advisers must have been either European or East Indian.

MONDAY, *April 22nd.*—I saw a large native banker (Márwárí) of Chadarghát, who spoke in the highest terms of the Minister, to whom the present peace and prosperity in the country was entirely owing. He said that the Minister took nothing for himself beyond what was allowed him, and this was a great merit! He spoke severely of Chandú Lál, saying that he was not exactly corrupt, but that he was grasping on behalf of his Government, and would give away both districts and places to the highest bidder, and would even break engagements in order to secure a larger payment. I asked him why the Nizám was jealous of the Minister, and he said the Nizám thought that he, the rightful master, was nothing, while the Minister was everything, and that the Minister acted on the advice of the Residency (*Kothí kí saláh*). He added that the Nizám would not be found willing to converse much with anyone, not even with the Resident; firstly, because it was not the custom of his ancestors; and, secondly, because he felt nervous lest he should say something absurd or unwise. In fact he said that the reserve arose partly from pride and partly from self-consciousness of ignorance.

Afterwards a Bukhárá *maulaví* came, who was a judge of the Court of Criminal and Civil Appeal. He

said that there were four judges, and that they had plenty of work. I asked him whether they had difficulty in getting orders executed against persons of influence. He replied "Yes, and that much management (*hikmat 'amalí*) is needed on the part of the Minister." I then asked him whether orders were issued in the name of the Nizám, and he said, "No; but in the name of the Sarkár (Government)." Then, *changing his manner*, he said that this touched an important point very nearly, and that the Nizám was jealous, because these orders did not issue in his name. Upon this, I explained the English practice (Queen's Bench or Judicial Orders of Privy Council, for example), by which orders were frequently issued in the name of the Sovereign. He said that the same ought to be done in Hyderabad, and that the Nizám ought to see the decrees before they were issued. I rather thought from this that he meant that the Nizám wished to interfere in the cases, which, of course, would lead to intrigue and corruption, and I told him that in civilised countries the Executive Government never interfered in judicial matters. Among other things, he said that it was not true, as was commonly asserted, that the Nizám suspected the Minister of some sinister understanding with the English, but that the Nizám was merely jealous of being set aside. I noticed that there was a sort of coincidence, though some difference in language, between the remarks of this Muhammadan judge and the Hindú merchant, who had previously called, on this subject. I then asked him, by way of a feeler, as to how

the Vikáru'l-Umará could be so wicked as to offer a bribe of a *lákh* of rupees to a Mrs. M * * * ; but, oddly enough, he seemed to see no wickedness in it! He appeared to think it was wrong for a judge to take a bribe, but to fail to see the wrong in this case!

TUESDAY, *April 23rd.*—Early in the morning I received from Calcutta the Governor-General's *kharíta* to the Nizám intimating my appointment as Resident, and also the usual credentials.

I saw Haidar Bég, the Zila'dár, and asked him whether a new *fakír* had come from Madras. He said yes, and that the man was constantly with the Nizám, pouring all sorts of nonsense into his ear, and that he went to him in the evening, and, after flattering him and interpreting dreams, &c., &c., came out from the presence with his hand full of gold coins!

I next saw Faiz Muhammad, a very respectable man, who said he managed estates for the Shamsu'l-Umará's family, and, among these, some for the Vikáru'l-Umará. I then asked him about the disgraceful ease in which the Vikáru'l-Umará had given a great bribe to the Mrs. M * * * above mentioned. He pleaded that Mrs. M * * * had deceived the Vikáru'l-Umará, and he, too, evidently thought that the Vikáru'l-Umará was absolved from moral guilt! This perversity and obliquity of moral vision is melancholy, and I told him in strong terms that, however guilty Mrs. M * * * might be, the guilt of the Vikáru'l-Umará was unpardonable. He next went on to say that in the estates he managed the land revenue de-

mand was limited to five years, and that the settlements were partially based on measurements.

In the afternoon I wrote to the Nizám in Persian, to say that I had received the Governor-General's orders to deliver the *kharíta* in person, and asked His Highness to fix a day for the purpose. I added a second paragraph to the letter, saying that I had special pleasure in being deputed to His Highness's Court, because, having been employed in neighbouring territory, I had long heard of the good Government established in His Highness's country.

WEDNESDAY, *April 24th.*—A native banker, named Bhagwán Das, came to see me, and said that he lived at Karwán, a sort of suburb of Hyderabad, which was formerly full of bankers; but that many of them had left during the troubles that some years ago befel the City, and had come to Chadarghát to be near the protection of the Residency. His father, however, had remained manfully at Karwán, as he had many armed retainers, and did not like leaving his home.

After that I saw Sháh Hájí Kádirí,* who spoke of himself as a *fakír* and a priest of rank and wealth, and said he depended for his position on the moral support of the Resident! This seemed odd, and I asked him if he had heard of the *fakír* from Madras, and he said, "No!"

In the afternoon I received intimation that His

* The Kádiríá *fakírs* are followers of the great saint 'Abdu'l-Kádir Jílání, who died at Baghdád in 1166. The order is to be found all over India.

Highness would receive me the following day at 11 o'clock. I also received an English note from the Minister, saying that the few complimentary remarks I had made about the good Government would have a beneficial effect.

THURSDAY, *April 25th.*—At 11 o'clock I attended in state at the *darbár* at the Nizám's Palace to present the Governor-General's *kharíta.* We went there in the same manner as on the 20th, and the aspect of the City and the crowd were the same, as were also the general arrangements of the *darbár.*

When we had seated ourselves, Col. Stubbs, the First Assistant Resident, got up, and gave me the *kharíta* standing. I then took it sitting, and briefly explaining to His Highness what it was, and saying that I had been instructed to give it to him personally, delivered it to him. While I was speaking he looked me full in the face, deferentially rather than otherwise. He then gave it to the Chief Secretary (Mír Munshí), who opened it and read it out. That done, His Highness signed for *pán supárí,** and, after this had been handed round, I told him that I had great pleasure in being deputed to his Court. He replied that my being there would help to promote the understanding between the two Governments, "which is good for you and for us." I then congratulated him on the good Government which existed in his country, upon which he said: "It has been good from the first, and it is still good. There is friendship between the two

* The *'atar* and *pán* already mentioned.

Governments." (*Awal achhá thá, ab bhí achha hai. Muhabbat fí mábain har do Sarkár.*) He further added that the two Governments were one (*wáhid*), and that there was friendship between himself and the Governor-General. I then got up, and, walking backwards two or three steps, saluted him standing by placing my hand to my forehead, which salute he returned in a similar way sitting.

I then returned to the Minister's house, where his servants showed me the new drawing room and some other sitting rooms, which he had lately built. They were very spacious, and had been constructed and furnished in the English fashion.

While I was looking at the rooms, the Minister himself returned from the *darbár*, and asked me if I had noticed that His Highness had said that his Government "was good before and was still good." I said I had. "Still," he went on to say, "His Highness was in a happy frame of mind." I hinted, however, that it was a good thing for everything to be done nominally in the Nizám's name, so that His Highness might feel that he had a personal share in the credit of success. This, he replied, he fully understood.

I then said that the arrangements at the *darbár* for preventing crowding and crushing had been better than before, but that still it ought not to be necessary to drive people back with sticks! He laughed and said that *chobzaní* (stick-striking) ought not to be necessary, and that he would try so to arrange as to obviate the necessity of it in future.

After the *darbár* I drove over by appointment to Secunderabad to hold a Levee of the Officers of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force. The Levee was held in the Public Room, and was well attended, about 150 Officers being introduced.

FRIDAY, *April 26th.*—I now felt that, having presented my credentials, and gone through the preliminaries, I must transmit the Governor-General's letter, which had been lying with me since the 14th. I could not have done this earlier.

I sent it with a letter to the Nizám himself, written on gold paper, &c., &c., in Persian, and so worded as to prevent His Highness thinking that the Minister had anything to do with it; and though, according to rule, I sent the despatch through the Minister, I did not leave a copy with him; thinking, that as the despatch related to the Minister himself, to do so might offend His Highness, who might himself, if he liked, send him a copy. However, I wrote a note in English to the Minister to keep his mind easy, as the despatch contained nothing to hurt him.

During the day I expressed a fear to my First Assistant that His Highness might explode with anger when he got the despatch.

In the evening I had a visit from Mr. W. Palmer. He had known Hyderabad for more than half a century, and was then eighty-six years old, and his memory, indistinct about recent things, was clear about long past affairs. I asked him whether the Sálár Jang was really as good a Minister as was commonly supposed. He

said, "Yes," emphatically. "The Sálár Jang is not only the best that has ever been at Hyderabad, but also the only good one that has ever been there." He described the Sálár Jang's merit to be fairness in the treatment of all classes of people with whom he had to do. I then asked him about the Suráju'l-Mulk, Chandú Lál, and the Muníru'l-Mulk, the preceding Ministers, and he found severe fault, one way or another, with all of them. I next asked him about the character of the Nizám. He replied that His Highness on the one hand clung to the British Government desperately, and on the other hand feared it desperately, and that the two feelings were compatible! His fear, he said, was that the British would seize the country, and that, despite appearances to the contrary, he would never divest himself of the belief that the English were only waiting their opportunity to depose him. He also said that His Highness would never cease to be jealous of his Minister, and would never willingly hold confidential intercourse with the Resident, unless he thought that the Resident would help him to trouble the Minister!!! All this is rather a melancholy account.

SATURDAY, *April 27th.*—In the forenoon I again had a visit from the Bukhárá *maulaví*, whom I had seen before. In the course of conversation I asked him if he could explain, as an intelligent foreigner and impartial observer, why the Nizám was so averse to hold intercourse with any one, even with the Resident, and why His Highness was so jealous of his great Minister. He said that as to the first it was an

error to suppose that His Highness was averse to intercourse, but that, on the contrary, he was anxious to see more of the Resident; and that as to the second, His Highness somehow imagined that the Minister wished to set his master aside as being mad! I did not, however, quite like this man's talk, and rather dreaded the Afgháns; so I turned the subject, and soon after gave him his leave.

In the afternoon I got a letter from the Minister, written in rather an alarmed and agitated strain, saying that his master informed him that the despatch of the day previous contained a letter from the Governor-General, which His Highness believed must have been written at the Minister's instigation! From the Minister's report, I also rather feared that my worst anticipations might be realised, that His Highness would renew the dispute with his Minister, and that he might dictate some ill-judged reply to the Governor-General's letter; so I wrote a quieting reply, begging the Minister to prevent anything hasty being done. Altogether I feared that the Nizám had got into a rage, and that a breeze was springing up, though I hoped that His Highness would cool down upon reflection.

In the evening I met a native gentleman of Hyderabad, who had just come back from a visit to Bombay. He thought the mass of the people there (natives) to be too gently treated, which made them saucy to their superiors!

SUNDAY, *April 28th.*—In the forenoon I received a letter from the Minister written in a quieter strain,

saying that His Highness had now sent him copy of the Governor-General's letter, and directed him to prepare a reply. From the tone of His Highness's message, as reported by the Minister, it seemed that he was coming over to a favorable view of the matter; and that the threatened storm was blowing over. I gave the Minister again a reassuring reply, and also pointed out that he would now see how much better it was that the paper should have been sent him by His Highness rather than by me.

In the evening Col. Briggs dined with me, and in conversation he pressed on me the view that the Minister was to blame for keeping the Nizám so secluded, and for doing his utmost to prevent the Resident having any personal intercourse with His Highness. I afterwards asked him what he thought of Metcalfe's conduct towards the house of W. Palmer & Co., and he said he thought that Metcalfe was entirely right in that matter, and that Messrs. Palmer were at that time turning over money at an immense pace, and were acquiring a position which must ultimately have been prejudicial to the Nizám.

MONDAY, *April 29th.*—Early in the morning I went with Col. Briggs to see the bridge built by the Kutabshahí sovereigns over the river Músá, on the road from the Fortress of Golkonda to the City. He told me of a case in which there was an immense claim for money on the part of a person whom he had met accidentally, against a man in the City, which the claimant felt afraid of bringing into the Courts of

Justice, but had petitioned the Minister, who had promised to see to it, though he had not done so. I thought from this that there seemed to be a confusion between judicial and executive functions.

On coming home I had an interview with Govind Ráo, formerly a judge in the Courts of Justice, but then a sort of Comptroller of the Minister's household. He described the Courts established in the City—namely, two for civil suits and one for appeals, two for criminal cases, and one special court for the execution of orders. There were six in all, and, except the last, they seemed to be constituted like Courts elsewhere. I made up my mind to inquire more about the Special Court.

Afterwards I saw a pensioned native officer of the Hyderabad Contingent Cavalry, who was a Muhammadan. He said that the Courts were well constituted, but that they could not execute their decrees without the Minister's assistance; that the Págáh people, the Arabs, and others, were always trying to set themselves above the law. This was also said by the preceding visitor, and it is remarkable that both these men, different in language and religion, agreed on this point, and also in the general belief that the Nizám was not really well disposed towards his Minister, which was a constant cause of weakness. Neither, however, were able to give any intelligible explanation as to why the Nizám should *not* be well disposed towards the Sálár Jang.

In the forenoon I got a letter from the Minister, from which it was clear that the Nizám was in a good

temper, and was going to give a proper reply to the Governor-General's *kharíta.* The Minister sent me a draft of the proposed reply, which seemed capital. It appeared that His Highness was mollified by the Governor-General's assurance that the Minister should be faithful and obedient. The Minister also sent me the draft of a proposed reply to my own letter, in which I objected to a passage that said that it would weaken the Minister for me to have a private interview with His Highness! I said that it would suffice to amend the draft to the effect, that as I had offered to give personal explanations in the event of His Highness not fully understanding any part of the letter, and as His Highness was quite satisfied, no explanation and no interview would be needed. Altogether it seemed that His Highness's storm had blown over.

Later in the day I heard that the natives said that His Highness fairly boiled over when he first read the Governor-General's letter, which corroborated the Minister's account.

I saw Mr. Marrett, who said that he had had occasion lately to go to the Shamsu'l-Umará on business, and that the people there had remarked that at the last *darbár* interview I had avoided turning round abruptly from the Nizám, and had walked backwards, and saluted His Highness with more than usual deference; also that I had carefully acknowledged and returned all salutes from individuals in the crowd; all which proceedings they approved of. These are trifles, but it seems that natives are very careful to observe them!

TUESDAY, *April 30th.*—Early in the morning I had a visit from Maulaví Nasru'llah Khán, the Názim or First Judge of the Faujdárí Court. His account of the proceedings of his Court seemed to show somewhat of prolixity. I asked him whether he was really able to enforce the criminal law against powerful offenders or their retainers. He said that if an offender came to the bar, sentence would be passed without regard to anything, but that the difficulty was to get him there. There were some persons who systematically refused to let their dependants answer a summons from the Criminal Court, and among such he instanced the Samsámu'ddaula, uncle to the Nizám, and his nineteen or twenty sons; the Vikáru'l-Umará, brother of the Amír Kabír; and two Arab Jama'dárs, 'Abdallah *bin* 'Alí and the Barak Jang. The Arabs, he said, were much more obedient than they had been; did not wish their followers to behave so badly as they used, and were prepared to enforce Arab discipline. The others, he said, were incorrigible. "What right had the family of the Samsámu'ddaula to set themselves above the law, when the other uncle of the Nizám, Zu'lfikár was obedient? Why should the Vikáru'l-Umará behave in the same way, when his elder brother, the Amír Kabír, was obedient?"

I heard from the Minister further on in the day that His Highness would agree to my proposed emendation of the draft letter.

I had a visit from a native member of the Majlis-i-Málguzárí. He had just returned from circuit, during

which he had been overhauling the *ta'lukdárs*, recommending two to be pensioned off, and suspending one for bribery. I said that I hoped the "bribery" man would be prosecuted; but he said the man was related to the Lashkar Jang, the well-known character in favour with the Nizám, and that His Highness was already inclined to say that the *amírs* (nobles) of the kingdom were being brought up before judges of low degree. I suggested that whenever the offender was of noble birth, he should be tried by a *panchúyat*, or sort of jury, of *amírs;* and I pressed on him that the offender must not only be fined, which was only tantamount to disgorging, but must also be incarcerated in one of His Highness's Forts.

In the afternoon I attended the dinner at the Minister's, which is given by the Nizám's Government as a matter of ceremony to the new Resident. The party consisted of 150—both ladies and gentlemen. The courtyards were brilliantly lighted. The reflections on the water of the tanks were lovely, and the palace beamed from afar. The dinner was first rate, and in the English style, the band of the Reformed Troops playing the while. I sat next the Sálár Jang himself, who dined just like a European, save that he drank no wine. After dinner there was really a beautiful display of fireworks, quite the finest I ever saw in India, and I learnt that the Nizám had a French pyrotechnist in his service.

Just before dinner the Minister sent a deputation to His Highness to note the fact of our being assembled,

and immediately after it the deputation returned with two immense garlands of flowers, one of which was put round my neck and one round the neck of the Minister. This was an additional sign of His Highness being in good humour.

I had much miscellaneous conversation with the Minister during the evening, but I could not speak on any particular subject. The general tenour of his remarks was that he was anxious to associate his master in the conduct of affairs; but that his master was on the one hand timid of being in the least degree responsible, and on the other hand was jealous if things were done without him: that he himself was anxious to pull well with the other *amírs*, but that they kept aloof—for instance, he had never been to the Jahán Namá, the seat of the Shamsu'l-Umará, nor had the Shamsu'l-Umará ever been to his house; and that he was anxious about the effective working of the new Courts of Justice.

WEDNESDAY, *May* 1*st*.—In the evening I had a visit from old Mr. Palmer, who again praised the Sálár Jang. I asked him more particularly about the preceding Ministers, and he spoke severely of the Suráj-u'l-Mulk, of Chandú Lál, of the Muníru'l-Mulk, and even of the Mír 'Alam. I asked him about the 'Arastu Jah, *alias* the 'Azimu'l-Umará, but he would not concede merit even to him, and said that, among other things, he was cruel. He also said that the present Nizám would never be persuaded by me or any other Resident to forego jealousy of the Minister.

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His Highness, he said, cared nothing for good or pure administration, but wanted to get his corrupt favourites put into power—such as the Lashkar Jang and Mír 'Alí Murád,—to which the Minister could not honestly consent, and thus there would be no revival of confidence. If great offenders were brought to justice, His Highness would say that his *amírs* were unnecessarily disgraced, and so on. I asked him about the repute of the several Courts of Justice; and he said that they all had a pretty fair character, save the Court of Appeal, adding, that he thought that the Minister's only fault in the administration of Justice was a too great tendency to be lenient to offenders.

THURSDAY, *May 2nd.*—Early in the morning I paid a visit to the Amír Kabír, in his beautiful country house, the Jahán Namá, outside the city. Some of his Págáh troops were drawn up to salute us outside the gate. He received us well, and was lively enough, but seemed rather feeble, and reminded me that I had seen the place in his late father's lifetime. I asked him about his large *jágírs* on the road between Hyderabad and Sholapur, and he said he tried to manage them well. In fact, he said markedly, "One is obliged to do so now that so much improvement is going on all around"!! I asked him some details of the way in which estates are managed in his part of the country, and my impression was that there was not any well-defined system; but I did not press him much at this my first interview. I asked him if it would be well for me to make the acquaintance of Khurshéd Jáh, his

nephew; and he said "Yes." I then impressed him with the propriety of a young man like Khurshéd Jáh, the eldest hope of the Shamsu'l-Umará family, following in the footsteps of the present Amír Kabír and of the first Shamsu'l-Umará. Lastly, I complimented him on the good report I had heard of him from Sir G. Yule, and took my leave.

I rode home through the City, and the demeanour of the people was fair enough, many of them saluting me as I passed.

After this the Minister breakfasted with me alone, and after breakfast sat talking with me in my study for some three hours.

He began the conversation by asking me with some particularity about the progress of Russia in Central Asia, and he seemed to think that Russia had seized Khokand, and had got Bukhárá at her mercy. He apparently expected Bukhárá to be annexed to the Russian Empire, and seemed to be anxious to hear the real truth about this.*

He then adverted to the Mysore case, and seemed to consider the abstaining from annexation a great concession, calculated to strengthen the confidence of the Native Princes.†

* It should be remembered that this was written in 1867.

† When the Dakhaní Muhammadan States finally defeated the Hindú kings of Vijayanagar in 1565, they retreated further south to Penukonda, where they degenerated. In 1610 the Wodeyar of Mysore (Maisúr), a petty chief under the Penukonda kings, made himself independent, and his descendants formed the Mysore State. This Haidar 'Alí wrested from them in 1763, but his son

He spoke about the rebuff he had received for his application for the restoration of Berar, and seemed to think that the Queen's proclamation on India coming under the direct Government of the Crown had conferred additional rights on the Native Princes of India. This I rather controverted, but he still seemed to think that somehow there was more of liberality under the Crown than under the East India Company.

I asked him about the character of the Nizám, and he said that the Nizám was clever enough and not without care for good Government, and in many respects a good master for a Minister to serve under; for instance, His Highness was less inclined than his predecessors had been to interfere. He went on to say, "Do you think I could have carried out the reforms I have in the reign of the last Nizám? Never!" But he said the great difficulty in his master's character was his suspiciousness. It was not that His Highness suspected his Minister in particular; he suspected everything and everybody; and though superstitious and inclined to listen to dreamers and interpreters of dreams, he suspected them too, and sometimes after finding them out would punish them. If reform in administration of justice was attempted, His Highness

Tipú Sáhib being defeated by the British in 1799, the old Hindu line was restored. Its representative behaved so badly, that in 1831 the British Government took over the administration, but on his death in 1868 the country was restored to his adopted son, the present Mahárájá, then an infant. This policy was, of course, decided on before 1867, and is that which is referred to in the text.

thought it was some conspiracy to disgrace the nobility of the Deccan by bringing them to trial before men of lower degree! If the Resident spoke to some noble near the throne, His Highness thought there was a design to secure the succession for him to the throne:—and he instanced the case of Khurshéd Jáh.* He also said the Nizám was always anxious to push a business through quickly when once he had made up his mind.

He told me that no loans were ever contracted by his Government, and that the practice of giving *nazaránas*, or presents by public officers on appointment, either to the Nizám or the Minister was abolished entirely. He vindicated himself from the supposition that he had invariably introduced new men, and declared that all the *ta'lukdárs* were old servants of the State; that even the Pársís were old employés connected with the family of Peshutanjí the great Banker; and that the city of Hyderabad itself was the only place into which he had introduced new blood.

I mentioned to him the expediency of avoiding the giving of offence by the use of English forms and phrases in administration, and remarked that it would suffice to point out to his countryman that their own annals had instances of great administrators —for instance, the Emperor Akbar and his great Minister Todá Mall—and that the *Aín Akbarí* was a capital guide. He said that he had once

* This noble is the present Amír Kabír (*see* introduction), and is a son-in-law of the late Nizám.

mentioned the *Aín Akbarí* to the Nizám, who at once retorted: "Oh, but that book did not come down from Heaven," meaning that it was not an absolute authority—or, in other words, that His Highness wanted to go on as he liked, without being bound by any authority at all!

I told him of the difficulty which arose from the ignorance in which the Nizám and most of his nobles lived, and which arose partly from their never communicating with the Resident. He at first said that his own authority would be weakened if the Resident made the acquaintance of the other nobles; but when I strongly controverted this, he yielded so far as to imply that he would have no objection if the nobles were summoned to their interviews through him. I said I saw no objection to this.

I asked him why he had two or three Muhammadan judges sitting together in the Courts, when one would suffice? He said the difficulty was to find any one judge competent to sit alone, and upon whom singly confidence could be placed; that he was afraid of the decisions in the first instance bringing the Courts into contempt; and that in this case he departed from the rule about too many cooks spoiling the dish. This metaphor was his own.

He said that he was most anxious to please his master by appearing to consult him in everything; though caution must be used in this, for His Highness would be sure to refuse personal responsibility for any public measure.

I urged him to bring to severe justice the *ta'lukdár* lately suspended for corruption in the Khamman (Wárangal) District, saying that, if convicted, the man should not only be fined, but imprisoned also. This he promised should be done.

I asked him the cause of the recent difference between the Nizám and himself, and he said that there was none apparently; perhaps the negotiation of the extradition treaty might have had something to do with it. However, he believed that it was a chance, owing to the curious character of His Highness. He also thought that the real object of appointing the Lashkar Jang was to bother him; but he admitted that he did not really believe that His Highness could afford to accept his resignation. He offered it as the only fair means he had of resisting.

He said that the present Amír Kabír was for the time well behaved, but once it was otherwise; and he recommended the ultimate restoration of the Vikáru'l-Umará to the Resident's presence. I told him that he might tell Vikáru'l-Umará that I would only agree to this on condition of his promising to refrain from covertly resisting the reformed order of things.

FRIDAY, *May 3rd.*—Early in the morning I went to look at the house built by Peshutanjí, the well-known Pársí banker of Hyderabad. The house was a fine one, the ruined gardens were well laid out, and the old wells were really magnificent. His antecedents, I believe, were much the same as Mr. W. Palmer's.

Afterwards I had an interview with Govind Ráo,

who was employed in the Minister's household. He told me that the Minister spent all his official income, Rs.15,000 a month, but was not extravagant; that his *jágírs* consisted of estates yielding some three *lákhs*, of which two *lákhs* went in public establishments and one *lákh*, or something under, remained. I inferred that the Sálár Jang's private fortune was something under Rs.100,000 a-year, besides a very fine house; but that he had no treasure or anything of that kind.

The Nizám's replies to the Governor-General's *kharíta* and to my letter, were received, and proved to be quite satisfactory and according to the drafts which I had seen. They were duly despatched to the Viceroy.

SATURDAY, *May 4th.*—Nothing particular occurred during the day, but I may here note that on reading up the records of the Residency Office and other historical books about Hyderadad I was struck with the resemblance—even the identity—of many of the political difficulties of that day, as compared with those of former times. I found that the isolation of the Nizám, his incapacity for public affairs, his jealousy of the Minister, his belief that the Minister was leagued with the English, the leaning of the Minister on the Resident for support, the endeavour of the Minister to keep the Resident all to himself, to prevent the Resident from communicating with the other nobles of the State, the isolation of the nobles from each other, from the Nizám and from the Resident, the difficulty in finding a possible successor to any Minister;—all these and the like were nothing

new, but were applicable to preceding Nizáms, and to preceding Ministers, and had been complained of over and over again by successive Residents.

In the evening at "the Band" I met Major Proudfoot, who said that the Sálár Jang was in good spirits and took exercise daily; that during the late rupture between himself and the Nizám he was in wretched, moody spirits and moped dreadfully. He went on to lament that the Sálár Jang did not instruct his nephew in public affairs, and added that once, on speaking to him about this, he replied that it was not the custom, and that neither had his uncle the Suráju'l-Mulk given him any education. This, however, was not a very good argument! I asked Major Proudfoot why so many idle unemployed *mansabdárs* were kept up on high salaries; and he said that the Minister was endeavouring to put existing *mansabdárs* into working appointments, and was careful to appoint no new ones.

SUNDAY, *May 5th.*—A *maulaví*, a resident of Berar, came to see me, having come to Hyderabad on some business about exchange of *jágírs* with the Minister. He spoke severely about the social condition of Hyderabad, and abused the Wáhhábís, denying their claims to real sanctity, and declaring that they did much more harm than good, saying that they stirred up strife, and attributing the misbehaviour of the Mubárizu'ddaula, a rebellious son of the Nizám Sikandar Jáh, to Wáhhábí machinations.* He, however, spoke in high terms of

* The Wáhhábís are a comparatively modern and fanatical sect of Muhammadan Puritans, who have justly acquired an evil repu-

the Sálár Jang, and said that the Courts of Justice in Hyderabad were a great improvement over anything that had existed before. I asked him about the character of the different judges, and according to him, some were good and others the reverse, but there was not one Court which had not at least one good judge on its bench.

MONDAY, *May 6th.*—During the day I arranged with the Minister about the signing and sealing of the Extradition Treaty, and also consulted him as to the reply to be given to the reference from the Government of India regarding the execution in Native States of decrees passed by British Courts.

I then continued reading up the records of the Residency in General Fraser's time. I was much struck at the extent of intrigues between the Minister and the native bankers — especially two firms named Kishan Dás and Púran Mal—on one side, and Mr. W. Palmer, Mr. Smyth—a barrister of those days—and various newspapers at the Presidency towns of Calcutta and Madras on the other. I felt sympathy with General Fraser in his resolution to put an end to all this, and I admired the straightforward manly tone of his correspondence.

I had scarcely done reading this, when who should come to see me, but Bhagwán Dás, the representative

tation from their literal adherence to the doctrine of the *jihád*, or religious war against "infidels," and by their violent methods of religious controversy. Sometimes, however, as in Gujarát, their ways are peaceful and their influence beneficial.

of the very firm of Kishan Dás noted above, and I told him that I had been reading about the doings of Púran Mal in General Fraser's time. As if conscience stricken he immediately said: "Then I fear you must have found mention of my father's name, Kishan Dás." I found, on conversing with him, that he still consulted Mr. Palmer, and believed Mr. Palmer to have influence, chiefly because he corresponded with many of the newspapers! !

That evening, after dinner at the 18th Hussars' mess, General (Sir John) Grant, commanding the Subsidiary Force, spoke to me of the danger of allowing the Minister to organize the Reformed Troops, which in time of peace were useless, and in time of trouble would be a source of anxiety.

TUESDAY, *May 7th.*—During the day, I continued reading up the correspondence in General Fraser's time, and I was further struck at the extraordinarily defective character of Chandú Lál's administration. I knew, of course, that in those days lawlessness prevailed in the interior of the Deccan, but I had no idea until I read these papers, how utterly the very foundations of good Government were poisoned at their source:—and so much of the blame, too, is traceable to Chandú Lál personally!

My impression from this perusal was—subject, of course, to correction as my knowledge advanced—that at that time both the Government of India and the Court of Directors pursued a wavering and inconsistent policy. They forcibly maintained a Minister in power, and then they would not allow the Resident to keep the

Minister straight! Evidently General Fraser, a fine old soldier-diplomatist, was, judging from his letter, deeply dissatisfied with the position in which he found himself placed, and no doubt it was very difficult to devise any line of policy which would bring about a successful result. Nothing, however, could be more unsuccessful than the line adopted by the British Government of that day. With the light of experience one might, perhaps, manage better; certainly one could hardly, in possibility, manage worse!

The Nizám, poor man, must have been puzzled. At one time he had a Minister literally set over him forcibly by the British Government, and anon he was told positively that he must choose his own Minister! Power thus precariously conceded, was, as might be expected, capriciously exercised. Great evils arose from the want of a Minister after resignation of Chandú Lál, and then, if ever, should the British Government, after half a century of interference, have beneficially and promptly interposed. But no, it held aloof with a vacillation almost inconceivable, till the Deccan was brought to the very verge of ruin! Such was the impression at least which the papers gave me.

WEDNESDAY, *May 8th.*—In the morning I saw Faiz Muhammad, who declared that fixed settlements for moderate periods of the land revenue were now really acted up to by the native officials in the interior of the Deccan, and declared that the condition of the people had much improved of late years, and that cultivation was fast increasing.

After breakfast Mr. Marrett came to see me, and brought some plans of a fine irrigation project at a place named Ibráhím Patan near Hyderabad; also the surveys of some tanks about to be repaired in the neighbouring district of Nalgunda.

I then went on reading up the records of Fraser's time, and found that the papers fully bore out what I had heard verbally about the Mubárizu'ddaula being urged to rebellion by the Wáhhábís.

I found further that Colonel Stewart, General Fraser's predecessor, also complained of the isolation of the Nizám, of the Resident, of the Minister, and of the Muhammadan nobles. Obviously this was an evil which had long been sapping away public spirit and principle in the State.

THURSDAY, *May 9th.*—Early in the morning a member of the Minister's household, came to see me, and I told him of the evil impression derivable from a perusal of the correspondence in Colonel Stewart's and General Fraser's time regarding the Minister Chandú Lál. He seemed to think that Chandú Lál was altogether a man without the least public principle and without the least aptitude for managing a country; without any feeling for the people; without any fidelity to engagements; as never going in a straight path, but always preferring tortuous courses ("never going in the broad road, but winding about in narrow and crooked alleys"); as profuse in almsgiving in the hope of conciliating favour; as equally profuse in expenditure for the purposes of corruption; as giving a month's salary to every

servant, every concubine, every hanger on about the Nizám's palace; as giving hush-money to every noisy blackguard; as slavishly timid of the newspapers and public reports; as crouching before those who were violent, but as fierce and abusive towards those who were weak; as having brought the State into such financial embarrassments that the Government almost fell into the hands of money-lenders, who at last became the very pillars and supports of the State. He described Chandú Lál's son, Bálá Prashád, as even worse than his father. I should hardly suppose that this man could have had any prejudice against Chandú Lál. His prejudices would be quite the other way, and that an enlightened Hindú gentleman at a Muhammadan Court should give such an historical retrospect of the great Hindú Minister was indeed melancholy; but certainly his account was borne out by the correspondence, so far as that went.

After that Padamsí Nainsí, the great Márwárí banker, came to see me. His object was to find out whether there was any chance of the Branch Railway from Kulbarga to Hyderabad being undertaken; he said that all the Hindú merchants, and even all the Muhammadan nobles, were in favour of it, and would subscribe capital. He said that, perhaps, the Nizám personally might dislike it, but of this he was not sure. Anyhow the Minister would undoubtedly advocate it.

FRIDAY, *May 10th.*—This was the day of the Langar Festival held at Hyderabad on the 15th of Zu'l-hijja every year. It is no part of the religious ceremonies

of the Muhammadans, but arises from a tradition peculiar to Hyderabad.*

On this occasion it is usual for all the troops and retainers of the Nizám to march in procession past the Palace, three processions, or streams, uniting near it. Thus, firstly, the people under the Minister (Díwání); secondly, those belonging to the special establishments of the Nizám (Sarf-i-Khas); thirdly, those belonging to the household (Págáh) under the Amír Kabír. I went down to the Minister's house with a party of about twenty European officers and ladies to see the Díwání part of the procession, forming about two-thirds of the whole, for it was not possible to see the other two portions.

I sat with the Minister on a balcony overlooking the narrow street, and commanding a capital view both up and down. The procession commenced a little before two and lasted till past five in the evening, that is for upwards of three hours! From ten to fifteen thousand men passed by, of whom a large number were mounted, and there were many led horses. Altogether there must have been between one and two thousand horses of all sorts.

* The Langar Festival is said to have arisen in 1594, when on the 15th Zu'l-hijja a prince of the Kutab Sháhí line was carried off into the jungle on a *mast* elephant. On his recovery his mother, in fulfilment of a vow, had an elephant's chain in gold carried in full procession to the shrine of a local saint. The Nizáms continued the festival thus initiated when they succeeded to the Kutab Sháhí Dominions. The procession has always been called the Langar, and is as popular as ever.

Besides various native gentlemen with followers, horse and foot, there were the trains belonging to the several Arab Jama'dárs. These trains of Arabs came marching up with their matchlocks, sometimes executing a sort of wild dance as they passed the Minister's balcony. Among them were mingled numbers of Rohélas, some Sikhs, and even some Balóchís, and at the end of each Arab cortége came the chief himself on an elephant. Three principal chiefs passed in this way. Firstly, the Barak Jang; secondly, the Saifu'-ddaula; thirdly, the Ghálib Jang.

There were also the Reformed Troops, headed by Captain Rocke, consisting of African and Dakhaní cavalry and infantry, and some artillerymen without their guns: the reason being that the City roads were supposed to be too rough and narrow for the passage of guns! There were also some of the old "Line" troops, a portion of which still bore the name of the Finglass Brigade.

The whole procession was gay with flags, and umbrellas, and bright-coloured trappings glittering in the sun, and the whole scene was striking and original—almost unique of its kind.

The Arabs did not look very formidable, and I judged that the original Arabs were dying out, and that their place was being supplied by *mawallads*, that is, sons of Arab fathers and Dakhaní mothers, born in Hyderabad. Of the three chiefs, also, two, the Barak Jang and the Ghálib Jang, were evidently *mawallads*, the third, the Saifu'ddaula alone being a

pure Arab, but he seemed to be of advanced age, and was nearly blind. Of the Reformed Troops, I thought the Cavalry including the Minister's special body of horse, very good in all respects, as to men, horses, arms, and accoutrements. The Infantry I did not think much of, and their drill did not seem to be good. These troops had two excellent bands of music, organised and instructed after the English fashion.

The crowd seemed dense, excited, and full of curiosity, and the Minister said that there was even a more than average number of spectators; and that it was, in fact, a full Langar. The people were cleanly and gaily dressed, much like those in other Indian crowds, and their demeanour was cheerful and respectful.

All this time I had, off and on, a good deal of conversation with the Minister, who thought that the Arab mercenaries were much less formidable than they had been, and the Rohélas even less important. He also thought that the number of Arabs in Hyderabad had dwindled from 10,000 to 6,000, but said that the three chiefs were still inclined to resist and disobey, and to teach their followers to disobey, the Courts and other constituted authorities, because the Nizám was disinclined to subject them to the tribunals. He added that they were very wealthy, and that the Barak Jang and the Saifu'ddaula had amassed, by means of trade, banking, &c., &c., at least fifty *lákhs* of rupees. However, these two bore enmity between themselves, and thus acted mutually as a check on each other. The third

chief, the Ghálib Jang, was more under the Minister's control than the other two.

I told the Minister that another year would see the Railway at Kulbarga in the Nizám's dominions, and that we ought soon to have a branch to Hyderabad itself. He said that every one was in favour of a Branch Railway to Hyderabad except the Nizám himself; that the reason of this was that His Highness feared that if the Railway came right up to the Capital, some of His Highness's rebellious relations might jump into the train and be off to Bombay, or elsewhere; and that such an occurrence would bring disgrace on His Highness!! This might seem an extraordinary reason, but the former Nizáms really had trouble with their relations—for instance, the Nizám Násiru'ddaula with the Mubárizu'ddaula, and Nizám 'Alí with 'Alí Jáh.

The Minister also told me that His Highness had again scanned over the wording of the Extradition Treaty just signed, notwithstanding the preoccupation of the Muharram, and I asked why he took so much trouble. The Sálár Jang said it was merely on account of his suspicious disposition which made him regard a Treaty as a sort of snare.

After the procession was over we went to dine at the Minister's house, close at hand; and during dinner I asked him about the Khairu'nnissá, who was married to Col. A. Kirkpatrick, the Resident. He said that she really was of good family, and that after Kirkpatrick's death she lived in seclusion in the Rang

Mahal, on the Residency premises, till her death. After her, he said that Sir H. Russell entered into a similar relationship with a relative of hers, named the Lutfu'nnissá.* Chandú Lál's wife used regularly to visit both these ladies. He went on to say that these connections were very inconvenient politically, and he acknowledged the improvement in English customs in this respect, which had taken place of late years.

He also said that the Residency Mír Munshís (Vernacular Secretaries) were no longer influential as they used to be, and that now he knew the Resident's mind from the Resident's own notes; but that formerly the Munshís used to be always warning the Minister not to interfere with such and such a thing, lest the Resident should snap at them (*chúo mat, nahín to kátenge*).

He again praised Metcalfe who had saved the Hyderabad State, but did not think so much of Russell. He rather blamed Martin and Stewart for falling under the influence of Chandú Lál, whom he blamed throughout, but spoke highly of Fraser.

SATURDAY, *May* 11*th.*—Nothing particular occurred during the day, but I heard that when the Langar procession passed the Palace the Nizám did not come to peep from behind the lattice work as usual. From this some persons inferred that he was in a sulky mood about something; but I doubted if such was really the

* Both the above names are *titles*, such as are commonly given to Muhammadan ladies of high rank. The title of the former is also variously given in books as the Mihru'nnissá.

case, as I had understood early in the morning from the Minister that His Highness was not well. Moreover, the Minister was in good spirits, which he would not have been had his master been displeased at anything.

I went on studying the Residency records, and was struck, firstly, at the apparently vain efforts made in Colonel Stewart's time to make the Nizám Násiru'-ddaula fit for something like independent Government; secondly, at the extraordinary preponderance which the Arabs acquired in the City of Hyderabad, and the weak manner in which the British Government acquiesced in this; thirdly, at the favourable reports rendered of the interior, that is, of the material comforts of the lower agricultural classes of the Nizám's dominions, despite reputed misgovernment.

SUNDAY, *May* 12th.—

MONDAY, *May* 13*th*.—I wrote to the Minister privately about certainly pending cases, the parties to which were present in Chadarghát, urging early decision, so that they might not continue to hang about the place.

During the day I received a visit from a native banker, introduced by the Minister as having been the first to come forward to assist him on his accession to power, when he greatly wanted money to carry on the Government. This man told me that at the outset the Minister's great opponents were the Daftarwálás, or Daftardárs—one called the Head of the Mahráthí Daftar, the other of the Telingí Daftar,—who advised the bankers not to advance money to him, saying

that his regime would not last, and that the Nizám would soon displace him for some one else. He then went on to say that now the Government never wanted money, and that they only drew small sums from the bankers for current expenses, adding that the people thought the Minister's position firm in the main, though not free from trouble from the Nizám. So much so, that recently when there had been a resignation, the bankers said that the Minister was sure to return to power, because of the high character he had earned with the British Government.

I then had a long interview with Maulaví Amínu'-ddín, the Judicial Secretary to the Minister, who fully confirmed all I heard about certain of the people setting themselves above the law, saying that the Arab Chiefs wished to arrogate to themselves jurisdiction over their own followers, not only as to imprisonment but even as to death; and that, though obliged to submit to the law, they did so with ill-grace and evasion. I found from his accounts that besides the newly-established Courts, the functions of the City Kází in murder cases were still maintained. On the whole, I was favourably impressed with the efforts, however imperfect, which were being made to establish a judicial system.

In the afternoon and evening I had a talk with Col. Briggs about the Arabs of the City. He said that they were weaker in strength and much improved in behaviour—immensely improved indeed,—but that they were personally brave and still a formidable body,

and that their expulsion from the City would be a difficult military operation. Every chief from the Nizám downwards was the prisoner of his own Arab followers!

TUESDAY, *May* 14*th.*—I sent the First Assistant, Col. Stubbs, to wait on the Minister, and remonstrate about a murder, wherein the corpse of the murdered woman was lying for hours on one of the high roads near the Residency, without apparently any notice being taken of it by the Nizam's police!

I also asked Col. Stubbs, as an officer of much experience, about the Arabs, and his account was much the same as Col. Briggs's. He thought, however, that they were not hostile to British interests, and that their Chiefs in particular were too rich to be revolutionary. I thought to myself that if the account given by Col. Briggs and Col. Stubbs, both very competent witnesses, of the strength of the Arabs, be correct, it was necessary that we should try to prevent their numbers increasing by immigration from Arabia. At the same time I thought that the Arabs of the present day could not be really very formidable.

In the evening I went out driving to see the *ta'zía* processions by torchlight in Chadarghát. The usual crowds and detachments of the Nizám's troops were present. About midnight the torchlight procession of the "Na'l Sáhib" took place. I wrote to the Minister to know if it was worth seeing, but he replied that it was attended only by the lowest class of the population.*

* Throughout India during the Muharram festival it is customary to carry in procession the *ta'zía*, or model of the tomb of

WEDNESDAY, *May* 15*th*.—I was somewhat ailing, but began reading the correspondence between Metcalfe, when Resident, and the Supreme Government, and was struck at the really awful prevalence of abuses in the internal administration of the country in those days. The interference exercised by Metcalfe and the supervision by European Officers was not so subversive of the Native Government as may have been supposed, as the entire executive authority was exercised by the native officials, the European officers giving no orders. The machinery of the Native Government thus remained intact, and the European officers did nothing, save bring to the notice of the Native Government abuses contrary to its own rules, and in contravention of its own orders. The conduct and character of the then Minister, Rájá Chandú Lál, appeared in the worst possible light.

In the evening I went out driving to the Fatteh Maidán, the parade ground of the Reformed Troops.

I also received a reply from the Minister to my note of Monday about the pending judicial cases. He remarked generally that it was difficult to prevent various influential persons from setting themselves above the law, and that they were rather encouraged in this way by the Nizám himself. He did not say this directly; I rather understood him to hint that he feared that such was the case.

the martyrs Hasan and Hussain. The Na'l Sáhib, or model of the shoe of Hussain's horse, borne as a standard, is a modern South Indian addition to the Muharram.

THURSDAY, *May* 16*th.*—I was not well, and received no visitors, nor did I go out of the house; but proceeded to read up the correspondence between Sir C. Metcalfe and the Supreme Government.

Looking to Metcalfe's charges and to the replies by Messrs. Palmer & Co., I thought that his phrase as to that house being "the plunderers of the Nizám" was most fully borne out. The manner in which they established an unfair influence over the Minister, and then tried to thwart the Resident by means of their supposed influence with the Governor-General, Lord Hastings, is quite wonderful. Both Sir William Rumbold and Mr. Wm. Palmer, then still surviving, seemed to have been very greatly to blame. The audacity of the pretensions of various kinds put forward by the House was also astonishing, as the manner in which they succeeded in concealing from their European constituents their real merits and position was most amusing, had it not one side so dark and painful.

That evening the only person I saw was the Residency Surgeon, and I asked him if he had ever heard of these affairs. He seemed to imagine that Mr. W. Palmer was not so very bad, but had been foolish rather than sinning. This looked as if even to that day Mr. Palmer impressed all uninformed Europeans he met with the idea of his virtues and his wrongs!!

FRIDAY, *May* 17*th.*—I was much better, but still did not go out nor receive visitors. I went on reading Metcalfe's official correspondence; the leading despatches

relating to the misconduct of Palmer's House, to the misconduct of the Minister Chandú Lál, and to the necessity of reforming the abuses of the Nizám's Government. These letters were in great length and detail; and in spirit, in argument, in moral tone, and literary style, they were real masterpieces of official composition. I should think that the volume which contains them must be among the finest pieces in the annals and archives of the British in India!

As regards the financial affairs the points were these. First: Palmer & Co. lent money to the Nizám at usurious interest;—at interest such as only arises from insecurity. Second: nevertheless Palmer & Co., by their supposed influence with British authority, forced the Nizám's Government to realize and pay up these debts punctually. Thus, so far from there being any insecurity, there was the best security, namely, the joint guarantee of the Nizám's and the British Governments! Third: as the security was good, the interest ought not to have been anything like as high as it was, and the Nizám's Government paid much more than it ought to have done. Fourth: thus the Nizám's Government was copiously bled to enrich a European House! *This* is what was meant when Messrs. Palmer & Co. were said to have been "the plunderers of the Nizám."

I was unfavourably impressed with the conduct of Lord Hastings as Governor-General in respect to these cases, and the conduct of Mr. John Adam, when acting as Governor-General after Lord Hastings' departure, stood forth in very favourable contrast.

SATURDAY, *May* 18*th.*—I continued much better.

I heard that the Nizám had sent a verbal message to the Minister suggesting the abolition of useless (*nikammá*) Courts of Justice! I determined to ask the Minister when I next met him whether this was true.

I proceeded to read up the correspondence between General Fraser and the Supreme Government, and was struck with the firmness with which he repressed an attempted mutiny on the part of a large body of the Nizám's troops, and of the manly manner in which he defended his conduct from strictures by the Supreme Government, which seemed hardly merited. I was also much struck by the really laudable and comprehensive efforts made by the Minister, the Suráju'l-Mulk, to reform the administration, and the perverse manner in which all these efforts were thwarted by the Nizám himself.

SUNDAY, *May* 19*th.*—I despatched a private letter to the Minister, urging him to keep the numbers of the Arabs down as much as possible by discharging those who were willing to go, and by not admitting any fresh immigrants from Arabia.

To-day I received intimation of the proceedings of the Nizám's Criminal Court in the City, sentencing four prisoners to imprisonment for life and two to fourteen years imprisonment for high treason. These sentences were inflicted in the case known as that of Jang Bahádur, a person who in concert with several others, went about the Nizám's country, giving money and distributing notices and agreements (*kaulnámas*) in-

citing people to rebellion in general and the murder of the English in particular, in favour of the "Sáhú Rajá," which was understood to be the title of the claimant to the throne of Satárá.*

MONDAY, *May 20th.*—I was much occupied in preparing English notes in several judicial cases which the Minister had referred to me, in order that I might advise privately as to proceedings against certain influential persons connected with the household or family of the Nizám, who had tried to set themselves above the law, not only in resisting processes against themselves, but in protecting debtors and others who were their dependants, and encouraging them to threaten forcible opposition to the execution of the Court's orders. I advised the Minister to provide his executive with the means of enforcing orders, but not to proceed to any forcible extremity without consulting me; at the same time to politely but firmly demand explanations from the influential offenders. Failing such explanations, he must report their conduct to the Nizám.

In the afternoon a *maulaví*, one of the Judges of the Hyderabad Criminal Court, came to see me, and I asked him about the repute of the Suráju'l-Mulk as Minister.

* *See* p. 80: journal for April 15th. The Rájás of Satárá were the descendants of Sivaji the founder of the Maráthá power. They had, however, been long the pensioners of the Péshwá of Poona. When the British conquered the Péshwá in 1818 and annexed his territories the Satárá Rájá was allowed to govern his State as before. He had, however, to be deposed for misconduct in 1839, his brother being put on his throne. When he died without an heir in 1848 the State was resumed by the British.

He said that he was generally supposed to have been a failure. I felt surprised at this after what I had read about him in General Fraser's despatches.

In the evening the Minister and his nephew dined with me, and I had a party to meet them. The Minister gave me a poor account of the Nizám's health, saying that he had been getting less and less able to take exercise, till at last he could hardly get out of the house at all. Quite lately in answer to an inquiry about his health His Highness had replied to the *vakíls:* "It is for the Minister and the Amír Kabír to keep me contented by their conduct, and then my health will be all right."

He said that in his heart the Nizám was opposed to the regular administration of justice; because people told him that it had a levelling effect and brought degradation to the nobles, and that such was the English policy!

He said that the Nizám was still very partial to the Arabs, and that when they committed acts of violence even in his own Palace he still befriended them. To the Minister, when he tried to overhaul them for such conduct, His Highness would say: "Why do you blacken the character of my Arabs?"

TUESDAY, *May* 21*st.*—I sent the First Assistant to speak to the Minister about a case in which it was feared that a nobleman in the city was keeping a woman in duress and preventing her from appearing in a Court of Justice.

With reference to correspondence of April 29th, in

which the Nizám said that it would weaken the Minister if His Highness held private interviews with the Resident, I wrote to the Minister pointing out the absurdity and mischievous tendency of such an idea, and further that the self-imposed isolation of the Nizám from the British representative had been a source of evil, and had been deplored by many successive Residents.

In the afternoon I asked Col. Briggs whether he thought the *maulaví* right in pronouncing the Suráju'l-Mulk a failure, and he seemed to concur in that estimate. I then pointed to the different opinion formed by General Fraser, who could hardly have been deceived; but upon this Col. Briggs said that the Suráju'l-Mulk may have promised much, though he performed little. Col. Briggs, however, did not seem to be fully aware of the difficulties under which the Suráju'l-Mulk laboured. At all events he said that he was careless and improvident in his own private affairs, and did not seem a likely man to make a good Minister.

WEDNESDAY, *May 22nd.*—I continued reading up the despatches written by General Fraser during the time that the Suráju'l-Mulk was Minister, and I was really astonished at the abuses that existed in the Nizám's Government at that time. For instance, it seemed clear that the revenue used to be literally embezzled to the extent of from twenty to thirty *lákhs* annually, through the existence, on paper only, of an irregular army, nominally of 30,000 men! Enquiry proved that it had no real existence, and was avowedly kept up in order to put money into the pockets of influential

men; some 30 *lákhs* annually going in this way! Again, the forgery of Government orders for the payment of money, went on to such an extent that an assortment of hundreds of such documents, ready for use, were found and seized! The Minister tried to get rid of the paper army, but could not, as the Nizám himself insisted upon its being kept up! It seemed, too, that it was the Nizám himself, who insisted on retaining the corrupting system of *nazaránas*. During the last days of the Suráju'l-Mulk's first administration the Nizám took the Government into his own hands, but, instead of looking after the affairs of the State, he entirely occupied himself in exacting large sums from those who had fattened on corruption, and in putting up big appointments to the highest bidder! In fact the troubles which then afflicted the Hyderabad State, and which ended in its ruler being shorn of one-fourth of his dominions, were largely owing to the perversity of the then Nizám Násiru'ddaula;—a perversity continued despite the remonstrances of General Fraser.

THURSDAY, *May 23rd.*—I sent a report to the Governor-General in English about the treason case already mentioned, and stated that, as the prisoners had issued proclamations distinctly inciting to the murder of Europeans, I had ordered the sentences to be carried out.

I went on reading up the records to the end of the Suráju'l-Mulk's first administration, and it was evident that General Fraser regarded the displacement of the Arab mercenaries from the commanding position they had been permitted to acquire in the City as a matter

of primary importance; but he evidently could never succeed in obtaining from the Supreme Government sufficient authority to enable him to carry such a measure through.

When the Shamsu'l-Umará succeeded the Suráju'l-Mulk, he also began his ministry by initiating many useful reforms. Indeed, it was surprising to see how well he began.

FRIDAY, *May 24th.*—This being the Queen's birthday, I went, accompanied by the Minister, to Secunderabad to witness a general review of all the troops there and at Baláram. There passed by in review three regiments of Cavalry (one Hussars, one Madras, one Hyderabad Contingent), five batteries of Artillery (of which one was native belonging to the Hyderabad Contingent, and one a heavy battery drawn by elephants), six regiments of Infantry (two European, three Madras, one Hyderabad Contingent).

After the review the Minister returned with me to the Residency, and spent the greater part of the day there.

He spoke to me about the Arabs, alluding to my letter* on the subject, saying that he would have great difficulty in dealing with them, partly on account of the position they had obtained in the City, and partly on account of the Nizám's partiality for them. I then questioned him further about them, and he said that he had some three hundred inside his own house—

* *See* p. 126, journal, entry of 19th May.

not of his appointing, but men whom he found there when he succeeded. Then the Nizám had several hundreds in his palace, and every noble in the city had some of them about his person or inside his house.

The Arab Jama'dárs were very jealous of their authority, changing the men about as they liked, and arranging their leave, their substitutes and the like. From his account it was clear that the Nizám, the Minister, and even the Treasury, were in the hands of the Arabs; and the Sálár Jang admitted that they were afraid of the Arabs, mainly because their houses, their persons, and almost their lives, were at their mercy!

He said that they were much less numerous than they had been, and much better behaved, but that they were still capable of misbehaving: and actually had committed an outrage in the Nizám's own palace. He admitted that he feared to reduce their numbers, even gradually—even if no existing employés were dismissed and only vacancies were not filled up. He scarcely dared effect even that much lest the Arab Jama'dárs should take the alarm and object, or even stir up strife. He added that the most formidable of the Jama'dárs was the Saifu'ddaula, though grown old and blind, and that after his death half the influence of the Arabs would go.

Arabs were, however, still largely employed in the interior, though they were not so numerous and powerful as they once had been, and it was clear to me that, notwithstanding recent improvements, they were much too powerful in the City of Hyderabad.

SATURDAY, *May 25th.*—Captain Palmer, late of the Nizám's service, and son of Mr. Wm. Palmer, called on me. He was a well-informed man, and said that his father, then eighty-seven years of age, was getting very old and weak. I talked to him generally about old times.

In respect to the celebrated discussions between Palmer's House and Sir C. Metcalfe, I observed that Captain Palmer reproduced all the old exploded fallacies which the House used to advance, and which Metcalfe so often refuted. It is surprising how people cling to arguments of this kind—originally false, but which, from repeating over and over again, they deceive themselves into believing to be true!

In respect to the interior of the country, Captain Palmer remarked four things which I noted. First: the former good character of the Ilichpur Nawábs, whom the Suráju'l-Mulk treated very badly. Second: the commercial and manufacturing decadence of Aurangábád. Third: the interference which the officers of the Contingent used to exercise in the civil affairs of the country round their stations, but which had then ceased. Fourth: the indebtedness of the nobles of Hyderabad, whose estates, he said, were in the hands either of the Arab Jama'dárs, or of the native bankers.

SUNDAY, *May 26th.*—In the afternoon I gave an interview to Rám Ráo, one of the men instrumental in the discovery of Jang Bahádur's plot already mentioned. He was a smart little Maráthá, was once at Baródá, and was brought over to Hyderabad by Col. Davidson,

the Resident. Probably in this way he had become attached to British interests. He said that the plot was bad, and had ramified considerably, and that the people in the interior had let it go on a great deal too long. I did not like, however, to ask him too closely, lest he should be tempted to exaggerate his own services in the matter.

MONDAY, *May 27th.*—I looked up the correspondence about the Reformed Troops, and I observed that it was stated that, when raising them, the Minister had reduced some of the old troops. I asked Col. Stubbs how, judging from his experience, such reductions could have been carried out. He said it could only have been done by refraining from filling up vacancies, as the Nizám's Government never discharged a man. But I replied that these vacancies could not be frequent, inasmuch as old and unfit men were kept on and antiquated sentries were to be seen daily. To this objection there was no apparent answer, and I determined to manage some day to see how these "reductions" came about.

I fixed Thursday, the 30th May, to review the Reformed Troops, and the Minister explained that he could not be present, as he would prefer just then not to have to ask the Nizám's leave.

In the evening the Minister and his nephew dined with me, a party of ladies and gentlemen from Secunderabad being asked to meet them.

During dinner the Minister asked me what I thought was the real fundamental cause of the great Mutiny of 1857. I said that it was the undue proportion of the

strength of the native army, and that any Government trusting to an excessively large body of foreign troops must always incur the same danger.

We again adverted to Metcalfe's conduct while Resident, and the Minister again spoke of him in terms of admiration, declaring that it had saved the "sinking State of Hyderabad." But I was sorry to see that he did not speak with good feeling of Sir H. Russell and Mr. Martin.

TUESDAY, *May 28th.*—In the morning I arranged with Col. Stubbs, the First Assistant, to settle with the Minister about the conduct of the case already alluded to, in which a woman had been forcibly abducted from a place near to the Residency, and was supposed to be detained by an influential Muhammadan nobleman of the City.

In the afternoon I received a visit by appointment from the Barak Jang, the Arab Jama'dár, son of the well-known Jama'dár 'Umar *bin* 'Aud, who left him a fortune of fifty *lákhs* of rupees. The Barak Jang was a *mawallad,* and though reputed to be a man of great influence, his manner seemed to me to be modest and unassuming, and altogether much better than I should have expected. I did not talk to him on any important subject, but merely asked him ordinary questions. I learnt that his mother came from Nágpur, and his father from the Hadhramaut province of Arabia. On taking his leave he assured me of the anxiety of himself and his tribe to render faithful service to the Nizám and to stand well with the British Govern-

ment. On the whole I rather liked what I saw of the man.

WEDNESDAY, *May 29th.*—During the day I went on studying the records, chiefly of the times of Gen. Fraser, Col. Low and Col. Davidson.

I noted the persistent and indefatigable manner in which Gen. Fraser urged the Supreme Government to interfere to such a degree as might save the Nizám from financial and administrative ruin, without interfering so far as to destroy the vitality of the Native Government. This, however, the British Government steadily refused to do. The Nizám's infatuated perversity at that time was quite astonishing, even for an Asiatic prince; and it was clear to me that if he had paid even a little heed to the Resident's advice, all the trouble of surrendering districts for the pay of the Hyderabad Contingent might have been averted. Indeed, I was almost inclined to think that if even the British Government had consented to interfere to the limited extent proposed by General Fraser, the above result might have been avoided.

I observed that Col. Davidson did not form so high an estimate of the Suráju'l-Mulk as Gen. Fraser had done, and even Col. Low seemed to concur in thinking that he was at times dilatory and unreliable, though he evidently thought that he had merits.

I also read a portion of Mr. Bushby's correspondence, and he concurred with Col. Davidson in thinking the Arabs of Hyderabad a dangerous body of men, whose gradual reduction, if possible, ought to be managed.

THURSDAY, *May 30th.*—Early in the morning I reviewed the Nizám's Reformed Troops, on the parade ground, called the Fatteh Maidán. The Minister was not present himself, not liking to have to ask the Nizám's leave—a curious proof of His Highness's jealousy,—but his Military Secretary, Major Proudfoot, was with me.

The Brigade was commanded by Captain Rocke, formerly of the Royal Army. It consisted of ten guns drawn by bullocks; a squadron of African Cavalry, two squadrons of Lancers (a body of horse originally raised by the Rájá of Wanpartí), and two Regiments of Infantry. The Cavalry were about 400 strong, the first Infantry Regiment being about 600, the second 300. The whole Brigade had about 1,300 men of all arms. The Brigade movements were well and smartly conducted: the Artillery firing was rapid and precise: the Cavalry were well mounted and set up; the First Regiment of Infantry was inefficiently drilled, but the Second was better. I understood that the cause of the inefficiency of the Infantry was that the native officers were indifferent, having belonged to "Line" corps in the City, before being drafted into the Reformed Troops, and had not previously been accustomed to regular work. The general result of the review, as regards the troops, was satisfactory, but whether such a body was wanted at all in the place it then was, was quite another question.

In the afternoon I received a visit by appointment from the Ghálib Jang, the Jama'dár commanding the Minister's Arab escort. He was a *mawallad*, had very

good manners, and was much more polished externally than the Barak Jang, but he was much less humble, and had, I should imagine, a stiffer character. I asked him merely "small-talk" questions, and it appeared, among other things, that his father, a full Arab, came from Poona to Hyderabad, and was first employed by the Munírú'l-Mulk, and then by Suráju'l-Mulk, and thus it was that he himself was employed by the Sálár Jang. His family came from the Yaman Province of Arabia.

FRIDAY, *May* 31*st.*—Early in the morning Mr. Brereton of the Railway Department came in. He lived at Kulbarga, an important place, and described the inhabitants as a troublesome set, the Hindús and Muhammadans always fighting among themselves;—the last phase of the trouble being the shutting of their shops by the Hindú shopkeepers. He said that the local authorities on the spot had not much weight, and that the Pársí *ta'lukdár*, Rustamjí, of the Shorapur District, in which Kulbarga is situated, was wanting in firmness, though possessed of integrity. He said, however, that Rustamjí had fearlessly incurred the enmity of many landholders by sticking up for the rights of the poorer villagers in reference to some questions arising out of the *batáotí* tenure.*

In the evening I gave a ball at the Residency in honour of Her Majesty's birthday, as it had been impossible to get the place ready in time for the 24th.

* *I.e.*, that system under which the land revenue was paid in kind by the peasant proprietor giving up to the Government a share of his crop.

The Minister and his nephew, the Nizám's Mír Munshí and Vakíl, the Amír Kabír and his nephew, all attended. I had the City approach to the Residency lighted up to receive them, and the effect of the illumination was fine. I also had the road leading up to the house lined with two squadrons of cavalry, as a guard of honour for them.

The ball was held in the upper storey of the house, furbished up for the occasion after many years of disuse. Many old chairs, purchased years back for the Nizám's Government at the Carlton House sale, and sent out for the Residency, were regilt and reproduced, and looked almost new.

SATURDAY, *June 1st.*—I did not rise till late, but I saw Mr. Brereton again before he took his departure. Though a great admirer of the Sálár Jang and his administration, he still thought, not only that new reforms ought to be introduced, but that existing reforms should be consolidated.

He was a man of more than ordinary intelligence, and I noted some of his conclusions. I gathered from him that the *ta'lukdárs* in the interior did not attend to the orders they received from the Minister and the Majlis at Hyderabad; that the attempt at organizing a Public Works Department was a very crude affair; that there had been much mismanagement on the road between Hyderabad and Sholapur, and on the roads made in the Shúrapur District by Meadows Taylor; that the dispensaries which had been established were left without medicines; that the police

jurisdictions in the interior were weak and confused. Nevertheless, he seemed to have formed a very sanguine idea of the capabilities and future productiveness of the Nizám's country.

In the afternoon I got a note from the Minister expressing high satisfaction at the successful result of the review of the Reformed Troops.

SUNDAY, *June 2nd.*—

MONDAY, *June 3rd.*—I wrote to the Minister in Persian, referring to a recent dispute between a British officer and one of the Nizám's subordinate police officials, begging that the police might be instructed to preserve at least an ordinarily respectful demeanour before British officers, so that good feeling between the British officials and the Nizám's servants might be preserved.

I also wrote to the Minister in Persian, urging the settlement of disputed debts between some native bankers in Secunderabad and the Ráni of Bhadrachalam, an extensive estate, situated half on the British bank of the Godávarí and half on the Nizám's bank.

In the afternoon I rode into Secunderabad.

TUESDAY, *June 4th.*—I stayed at Secunderabad, and in the morning attended a general parade to see a good conduct medal given to a man of the 18th Hussars.

In the afternoon I went to see the new European Barracks at Trimalgiri. The mass of noble structures congregated on an airy site, commanding an extensive prospect for miles, right down to the city of Hyderabad, was very imposing. I also saw the workshops

and steam machinery belonging to the Public Works Department, whereby huge masses of teak timber were sawn up, and water pumped up from a depth and carried to a long distance. I also saw all sorts of carpentry being done by the machine called "the general joiner."

WEDNESDAY, *June 5th.*—Early in the morning I went round the Secunderabad *bázárs*, and found the place clean and flourishing. The streets were broad and the houses handsome and well painted and done up. There was a good square and exchange, a bad market, a tolerably good dispensary, and a handsome *kotwálí*, or police station. The main street could be surpassed by few, if any, of the Military Cantonments in India.

During the day I received a visit from Vírabhadram, a Madrásí *mudalivar* (gentleman) of much wealth in Secunderabad. He told me that formerly his firm had had great pecuniary dealings with the Nizám's Government, but that the debts had all been cleared off by the Minister, except a small disputed balance, still remaining unpaid. He also said that he had recently held the district of Médak in farm from the Nizám's Government, but that this arrangement had ceased for some two years. I was surprised to hear that so objectionable an arrangement had been in existence within so recent a period.

Afterwards came a *mudalivar*, named Rámanújam, a respectable and wealthy inhabitant of Secunderabad, who had some old pending suits about debts with the Rání of Bhadrachalam.

THURSDAY, *June 6th.*—Early in the morning I rode

out into Baláram and took up my quarters in the Residency House there.

In the afternoon I took a ride round the Station, thought highly of the open undulating country, with its fine view of the Trimalgiri eminence, crowned with barrack structures. The huts and houses of the men, both horse and foot, had wretched thatches, and seemed to want tiles. Better conservancy in the outskirts of the Station was also wanted, and had recently been arranged for. The *bázárs* seemed in fair order, and the Station generally very clean and smart.

FRIDAY, *June 7th.*—Early in the morning I went out riding with Major Nightingale commanding at Baláram, who showed me a place called Barásáhibpet near Baláram, where some years previously his Regiment of Cavalry had dislodged a band of 1,000 Rohélas. These men had been discharged by the Nizám's Government and were marching towards Bombay. They put up in the enclosure of the mosque at Barásáhibpet, which is the first march out of Hyderabad, and when told by the Officer Commanding at Baláram to move on, they refused. Some Infantry were then sent to drive them out, but got beaten. The Rohélas then rushed out sword in hand at them into the open, where they were charged by the Cavalry, sabred and dispersed. It was not thought at the time expedient to do more to them.

During the day I had long talk with Dr. Balfour, Superintending Surgeon, about the practicability of proposing some measures for cleaning the city of Hyderabad without offending the prejudices of the people.

SATURDAY, *June* 8th.—Early in the morning I rode out with Major Woodcock, commanding the 5th Infantry Regiment of the Hyderabad Contingent, and met the *patél* (headman) of Koltú, a large village. He said he had got a money assessment fixed for three years, and that he had given leases (*pattas* or *kauls*) to all his ryots.

SUNDAY, *June* 9*th*.—The First Assistant came to see me about some urgent anxiety expressed by the Minister as to a sort of private secretary of his, a Pársí, named Jamsetjee (Jamshédjí). He had resigned because the Minister had suspected him of malpractices, but was in possession of a mass of confidential papers, and, among these, some relating to communications between the Minister and the Residency during the troubled period of 1857. The Minister feared that he might make some evil use of them, and wanted my support in compelling him to give them up. I told the First Assistant to say that I was clear that they belonged to the Nizám's Government, and that I would support the Minister in demanding restitution, provided it was done in a regular and quasi-judicial manner; also that I would help him in preventing Jamsetjee from engaging in any intrigue and from poisoning the mind of the Nizám.

MONDAY, *June* 10*th*.—Early in the morning I went with Major Price to see the progress of the new artillery barracks at Trimalgiri, and found a great deficiency of skilled labour. I wrote to the Minister to ask him if he could get any men from the city, and sent

a schedule of the rates of wages which our Executive Engineers were prepared to offer.

I received a visit from the Súbadár-Major of the Infantry Regiment at Baláram, a Bráhman of Cawnpore (Kánhpúr) and a very respectable man; but he was too much of a foreigner (Hindústání) to be able to afford me much information about the politics of the Deccan.

In the evening I attended a large party, given in my honour, in the Public Rooms, by the Officers of the Native Cavalry and Infantry Regiments at Secunderabad.

TUESDAY, *June* 11*th*.—I visited the European school at Baláram and thought it pretty good. The native school was not so good, and was too much out of the way, and I thought of placing it in the house in the *bázár* formerly built for the purpose. I also visited the Poor-house and saw the destitute creatures being supplied with food.

The afternoon was rainy and prevented my going out, and so I received a visit from the Risáldár-Major of the Cavalry Regiment, who said that the men were attached to the service, because their places were almost hereditary, descending from father to son. His own father, he said had been in the Contingent, and so was his son at that moment, making with himself three generations in the same service. He also said that nine-tenths of the men could count up their pedigrees. He confirmed all I had heard about the gradual extinction of the elements of trouble in the Deccan and the merits of the present Minister.

WEDNESDAY, *June 12th.*—Early in the morning I reviewed the Balâram Force, consisting of the 3rd Cavalry Regiment, the 4th Light Field Battery, and the 5th Infantry Regiment of the Hyderabad Contingent. The manœuvres went off very well indeed.

During the day I answered a detailed reference from the Minister regarding the best mode of dealing with Jamsetjee, and was much struck at his dislike to treating a case of this kind judicially. He wanted me to seize the man and his papers in my political capacity, but I held out against doing this, as there was not sufficient emergency. I agreed to assist, so long as judicial processes were observed.

In the afternoon I went, accompanied by the chief engineer, Major Price, to inspect some of the buildings lately completed at Trimalgiri. We looked at the married quarters for the Artillery, the Church and the English School-room, the Roman Catholic Chapel, the Presbyterian Church, the Soldiers' Club and Reading-room, and the new barracks for the 108th Regiment. We also went over the newly-finished prison for soldiers, which had thirty-seven inmates, not an excessive number for so large a force; and which, though strictly penal in its discipline, was excellently and humanely managed. I finished up by seeing the Soldiers' Reading-room of the 21st Fusiliers, which was much frequented, and I was told that the great majority of the men in the regiment were able to read and write.*

* It should be remembered that this was written in 1867.

THURSDAY, *June* 13*th*.—Early in the morning I rode, accompanied by Major Woodcock, and one of the City *mansabdárs* to see the tank at Shúhmírpur, about eight miles from Baláram, and I much admired the old dam with its stone facings, its sluices, and irrigation channels. It had once been breached in two places, but had been subsequently repaired. I also saw the *déshmukh* of the neighbouring villages, which were held in *jágír* by a relation of the Minister.

In the evening I gave a small dinner party to the society of Baláram.

FRIDAY, *June* 14*th*.—Early in the morning I went over the Artillery Lines, saw the places where the horses were picketted, the gunsheds, and the houses of the native gunners, and considered the whole to be creditable to the 4th Light Field Battery of the Hyderabad Contingent.

In the evening I gave a small dinner party to the society of Secunderabad.

SATURDAY, *June* 15*th*.—I received a visit from Khandaswámi Mudaliyar, the son of the headman who supervised the building works of the Hyderabad Residency in the beginning of this century, and a clerk in the well-known firm of W. Palmer and Co. He first remembered Metcalfe as Resident, and had known all the subsequent Residents.

He said that originally the Residency, now surrounded by a town, was built on an open plain, and that afterwards the Residents got some native bankers to settle close to it, in order to negotiate the

money supplies for the payment of the Subsidiary Force. The bankers came and dwelt in the place called the Bágh, and the rupees current there were consequently called *bághchalní*. After a while some of them got plundered, and in consequence the Bágh was enclosed by a high wall. He said too, that all the space now occupied by the extensive settlement of Chadarghát, was once covered with groves and gardens, and that its name, Bágháit, was still preserved.

He confirmed categorically all that I had heard about the merits of the Sálár Jang's administration, about the great internal improvement of the country and the preservation of order, and about the jealousy of the Nizám regarding the Minister's leaving the City. Nothing, he said, would persuade the Nizám that the Minister was not going to hatch mischief, if he went for a tour in the interior to look after the country !

In the evening I went over the lines of the Infantry Regiment at Baláram and examined them, and was satisfied with what I saw.

SUNDAY, *June* 16*th*.—

MONDAY, *June* 17*th*.—Early in the morning I had out the 5th Regiment of the Infantry of the Contingent for an inspection parade, and found that a large portion of the men were Hindústánís, and that the usual proportion, 10 per cent., of these were absent at their homes in Hindústán. The parade went off well, and after it I addressed a few words to the native officers. When this was over, the Súbadár-Major, with the permission of

the Officer Commanding, mentioned a few boons which he solicited for the men. These chiefly related to classes and pensions, the object being to ask for the same advantages as those enjoyed by the troops of the regular line. He also alluded to the rule excluding Bráhmans from enlistment, and seemed to think it hard that when a Bráhman native officer had served through the wars with distinction, his sons should not be eligible for enlistment. He was a Bráhman himself, and had a brother in the corps, who had sons growing up.

In the evening I went over the lines of the 3rd Cavalry Regiment of the Contingent, and found that the Risáldár-Major owned the horses of a whole troop, being the *silahdár* and the men his *bárgírs*.* His was said to be the best troop in the Regiment. Another Risáldár on detachment at Lingsagúr, also similarly owned a number of horses. Besides these there were ten other native officers owning from twenty to forty horses. Major Nightingale told me that he thought the *silahdárí* system was the best, as giving us a greater hold on the fidelity of the men, and that as long as the *silahdárs* kept right the *bárgírs* dare not go astray: saying that in 1857 near the Narbadá this very Risáldár-Major had to call up a number of disaffected men and keep them straight.

Complaints were made of the risk from fire to the houses of the men and the stables of their horses by reason of the thatched roofs. With such a mass of

* *Silahdár* means strictly *armiger*, and is now a native gentleman who owns the horses of his troopers or *bárgírs*.

thatch there was danger no doubt, though water-tanks and fire-engines were kept constantly ready.

TUESDAY, *June* 18*th*.—Early in the morning I inspected the No. 4 Native Battery of the Contingent. Everything seemed in order, the firing and manœuvring being rapid and precise.

About noon I received a visit from the Súbadár of the Battery, who mentioned a few points much the same as those mentioned by the Súbadár-Major of the Infantry. He was himself a Muhammadan, but said the same thing as to the Bráhmans !

Captain Grey, the Commandant, gave a good character to the men, and said that they worked hard and were very willing and industrious.

After breakfast I had a note from the Minister saying that Jamsetjee had himself quietly given up the papers and professed submission, but that he still wished to discharge him and deport him out of the Hyderabad Dominions. He asked my opinion, and I expressed entire concurrence.

In the evening I inspected the lines of the 3rd Regiment Hyderabad Contingent.

WEDNESDAY, *June* 19*th*.—In the afternoon I went, accompanied by Major Price, the Chief Engineer, to see various improvements in detail at the new barracks for the 21st Fusiliers at Trimalgiri, which Colonel Robertson, the Commanding Officer, wished me to see.

I also saw a class practising gymnastics under the new rules.

THURSDAY, *June* 20*th*.—In the afternoon I reviewed

the 3rd Regiment of Hyderabad Cavalry. The men, horses, arms, and accoutrements looked exceedingly well, and the manœuvres and exercises were capitally executed. The review over, I called the native officers to the front, and made a short speech to them in Hindústání, briefly recounting the past services of the corps. The regiment had existed for fifty-one years, and during that period it had been engaged in thirty-four actions, of which twenty occurred before the Mutinies of 1857-8, and fourteen afterwards. Those before 1857 were for the most part local affairs, though even among them there were several places known to history such as Mahidpur in Málwá, Chándá on the Wardhá, Poona, and Karnúl. Those since 1857 were celebrated in the history of the great rebellion and were freshly remembered. They included Asírgarh, Mau (Mhow), Dhár, Ráwal, Madanpur, Mandesor in Málwá; Chandérí, Lahárí, Bétwá, Jhánsí, Kúnch, Kálpí in Bundélkhand, Gwálior, Morár, 'Alípúr Jaurá; and lastly some places in the Deccan. After these events, hundreds of medals had been distributed among the men, no less than eighty Orders of Merit, and three Orders of British India. All the native officers then present were decorated men, and I congratulated them accordingly. I also reminded them of the benefit of the cavalry service, which always accepted the qualified sons of troopers, and thus made the employment almost hereditary, provided that a succession of fine young men presented themselves.

Friday, *June 21st.*—The Bombay Government had

written to beg that the Nizám might be asked to dismantle the Fort at Raichúr, because the Railway Station was proposed to be put within musket shot of it! I replied I could not make such a request to the Nizám, which would be an infringement of His Highness's sovereign rights, and suggested that the site for the proposed Railway Station be fixed out of musket range!

I also took up the question as to whether the Contingent troops at Lingsagúr should be moved sixty miles eastward to Raichúr, so as to be on the line of Railway. I decided not to do so; firstly, because Lingsagúr Station dominated the Bidar country and Shúrápur, and secondly, because the move would involve great expense.

In the evening I dined with the officers of the Contingent at the Baláram Mess-house, when about seventy officers, hosts and guests, sat down to dinner. The Commanding Officer, Major Nightingale, told me that the speech I made to the native officers of the Cavalry, recounting their war services, had given them great satisfaction. Major Woodcock, commanding the 5th Regiment of Infantry of the Contingent, told me that a detailed inspection by the Resident "gave new life to the corps."

SATURDAY, *June 22nd.*—Early in the morning I went with Colonel Robertson, commanding the 21st Royal North British (now Royal Scots) Fusiliers, to see the kits of the men, which, as a rule had to be inspected every Saturday morning. The cleanliness and order which prevailed were remarkable, and also

the number of books which the men had about them. The little libraries and reading rooms attached to almost every company, besides the regimental reading room, indicated a more than average degree of intelligence among the men, of whom indeed fully nine-tenths were able to read and write.

After that I breakfasted with the officers at the Mess-house, the band playing the while.

Returning home I found a note from the Minister, saying that Jamsetjee refused the offer of pension, and requesting that he be desired to quit the Residency limits. I sent orders to the First Assistant accordingly.

SUNDAY, *June 23rd.*—In the afternoon Khandaswámi came to see me, and dilated on the extraordinary ignorance and isolation of the Mughal nobility and gentry of Hyderabad, who, he said, "lived in a dark place."

MONDAY, *June 24th.*—In the afternoon I carefully examined the horses of the 3rd Cavalry of the Contingent, and was fairly satisfied with them on the whole,—especially with the newly-purchased remounts.

TUESDAY, *June 25th.*—I was chiefly occupied with business connected with the Hyderabad Contingent, especially the rate of pay and pension and the compensation claimable by the men for dearness of provisions.

I issued orders for the recall of the detachment of Native Infantry stationed at Wárangal in the eastern part of the Nizám's Dominions, as the Minister said that his Government had no objection.

WEDNESDAY, *June 26th.*—In the afternoon I went to see the large General Hospital at Secunderabad, and I was much struck with the unsuitableness of the building, in the erection of which so much money and labour had been expended. It made a worse hospital than many buildings of far inferior construction.

In the evening I dined at the Mess of the 21st Fusiliers. Several officers, returning from hunting parties, spoke of the improvement apparent in the condition of the interior of the country.

THURSDAY, *June 27th.*—In the forenoon I read up much of Col. Davidson's correspondence during the troubled period of 1857–8. I noted that the Arabs, though not overtly hostile, were of doubtful conduct, and would certainly have usurped the sovereignty of the Deccan if anything had happened to the British Power; and that when in 1858 Tántiá Tópí approached the northern border of the Deccan, the Muhammadan population, backed up, too, by the Arabs, were preparing to rebel in support of him.

FRIDAY, *June 28th.*—I proceeded with my reading up of the old records between 1839 and 1845.

SATURDAY, *June 29th.*—I went on reading the papers, and found that what I had previously considered the weak and vacillating orders of the Supreme Government in respect to the reforms urged by General Fraser, were caused by apprehensions entertained by it, which I believed were misplaced, and thought that more might have been done with the Nizám. Unless General Fraser had known himself to be strong enough to

carry out his measures, he would not have proposed them.

SUNDAY, *June 30th.*—I observed to Col. Briggs that from the old records I believed that Lord Ellenborough attributed the neglect by the late Nizám of General Fraser's injunctions about the banker Púrán Mal, to the low ebb to which British authority had then sunk by reason of the Afghán disasters. Col. Briggs thought that the Nizám was not thereby disposed to resist the Resident, but that his conduct must have been governed by local considerations.

In the evening I received a report of the sudden death of Dr. Pemberton, the Residency Surgeon.

MONDAY, *July 1st.*—In the morning I rode from Baláram to the Residency at Chadarghát, to see how Dr. Pemberton came by his sudden death, and found that he had taken poison in a fit of mental and nervous depression. I heard that he had rendered himself much liked and respected by the Nizám's subjects in and about Hyderabad; and that in this respect he was one of the best among the many good medical officers who had filled the post of Residency Surgeon.

In the afternoon we buried him in the Cemetery close to the Residency gardens. The General Commanding the Subsidiary Force and many military officers from Secunderabad and Baláram were present. A firing party was furnished from the 108th Regiment, and the band played "the Dead March." Many natives of respectability attended, and among them some of the native gentry. Some natives also of the

poorer classes were seen crying at the grave. After the funeral I returned to Baláram.

TUESDAY, *July* 2nd.—Brigadier-General (Sir J. T.) Grant, Commanding the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, came out to stay with me for a few days at Baláram. He pointed out to me the strategic defects of the new cantonment of Trimalgiri: the position, though good from a sanitary point of view, was commanded by the Chótá Múl Alí, or Imám Zámin Hill, and by other little hills. The plain too, was dotted over with granite boulders, just the things for Arabs or Rohélas, or other enemies, to hide behind. He would have placed the European force on the beautiful plateau close to the Baláram racecourse.

WEDNESDAY, *July* 3*rd*.—I heard from the Minister that Jamsetjee had departed in peace, and after tendering the fullest apology for his insolent and ungrateful conduct, had begged to be allowed the pension, Rs. 700 a month, which he had at first refused. He was ordered to reside outside the Nizám's Dominions.

I wrote to the Minister about getting the Nizám's great diamond out of pawn, by clearing off some old scores with the native bankers. I also wrote to him about deporting at once the Arab Sálih *bin* 'Akrabí, a dangerous character.

THURSDAY, *July* 4*th*.—I continued reading Col. Davidson's correspondence during the outbreak of the troubles of 1857. It seemed lucky that the Nizám Afzalu'ddaula had just at that very time been recognised by the British Government on his accession, and

felt a tie of gratitude to us, which helped to keep him straight. The Sálár Jang was staunch, and hence had great difficulty in getting information, as the evil disposed would not trust him! The number of armed Muhammadan fanatics likely at that time to rise, estimated by Col. Davidson at 100,000, seemed very great.

FRIDAY, *July 5th.*—I read a volume of letters addressed to the Government of India by Sir H. Russell when Resident, and saw that Chandú Lál, despite his subsequent bad conduct, must originally have had merit, and that he rendered great service in organizing the Nizám's contingent aid during the Pindárí War. No doubt he had a hard part to play then, and he did it well: still it is quite evident that Russell was towards the end much deceived by Chandú Lál, who persuaded the Resident that he was introducing measures of improvement, while really he was doing nothing, except play corruptly into the hands of Messrs. Palmer and Co.

I was struck by Russell's severe denunciation of the Nizám Sikandar Jáh, and of the great Ministers, the 'Arastú Jáh, and the Mír 'Alam. If he had been equally alive to the faults of Chandú Lál, it would have been better.

Russell's despatches are able and statesmanlike, and he seemed aware of the danger to our power from Muhammadan fanaticism, declaring that at the time when on the one hand there was trouble with the Péshwá at Poona, and on the other hand trouble with Apá Sáhib at Nágpur, the Nizám and his people were

in their hearts against us. One of his expressions is striking:—he wrote, "The Péshwá has just died in convulsions, the Nizám is dying comatose," alluding, of course, to political death.

SATURDAY, *July 6th.*—I had an interview with Mr. Keay,* the manager of the branch of the Bombay Bank at Hyderabad. He seemed to have very extensive transactions with the *sáhúkárs*, or native bankers, and appeared to lament that the Mughal nobles would not deposit their hoards of money in *his* bank, observing that, as they got no interest, they were really living on capital. However true this may be in theory, I fear the Mughals would not trust the bank! He told me of absurd rumours being current in the City, to the effect that the Nizám refused to see his Minister and sent messages insisting on the abolition of the Courts of Justice!

I saw one of the Nizám's officials of the old Sadásheopet District. He said that the management had not been good, but was now improving, and that a money assessment for three years certain had just been made with each ryot.

In the evening I met Dr. Balfour, Inspector-General of Hospitals, who told me that he first saw the Deccan in 1839–40, when he went to join the Afghán War. At that time he thought the interior of the country was wretched, and considered that the improvement in agriculture within the previous few years had been immense.

* The Mr. Seymour Keay of subsequent notoriety.

SUNDAY, *July 7th.*—

MONDAY, *July 8th.*—I read up General Fraser's letters as Resident addressed to the Government of India, and was confirmed in my impression that the evils of that time were owing chiefly to obstinacy of the Nizám Násiru'ddaula, who persisted in trying to govern without the slightest notion of how to do it. Some of Fraser's invectives against the misconduct of the Nizám and his Government are almost Demosthenic in their force and vigour. The Nizám would have given in to General Fraser's remonstrances if the Government of India had backed up the Resident. But there was hesitation on the part of Lords Ellenborough and Hardinge: partly because they did not believe the British Government to be locally strong enough to enforce obedience, an idea fully refuted by General Fraser.

TUESDAY, *July 9th.*—I finished the perusal of Gen. Fraser's correspondence, and I found that the confidence which the General at first reposed in the character and ability of the Suráju'l-Mulk, the Minister, was first weakened and then shaken altogether. It seems that the Suráju'l-Mulk spoke fair enough, but either would not, or could not, act.

When Gen. Fraser retired from the service he seemed to be so disgusted with the conduct which the Nizám had pursued for years, that on going away he did not "apply for an interview with the Nizám":—in other words, he would not even wish him good-bye!

WEDNESDAY, *July 10th.*—I was chiefly occupied with Berar affairs.

During the day I had some correspondence with the Minister about the decision of cases connected with the people belonging to the Railway Department. I found that the Railway passed through the Págáh jurisdiction of the Shamsu'l-Umará, and intimated that we must insist on the Shamsu'l-Umará appointing proper native officials on the spot in the same way as was done in the districts directly under the Minister.

THURSDAY, *July* 11*th*.—In the morning I rode over to Kíshara, a large village twelve miles from Baláram to the east, a stage on the road towards Wárangal, and returned home by ten o'clock. The road from Baláram is pretty, winding underneath granite ridges.

The village is situate near the foot of a great globular mass of granite, about 200 feet high. The rock is ascended by a flight of steps cut in the stone, and there are some old temples at the top, and a spring of water with beautiful water-lilies. The view is extensive. One can see to the well known conical hill of Bhawánígír to the east, and can also with a glass make out each one of the barracks on the Trimalgiri ridge, and each one of the public buildings at Baláram. The Múl Alí Hills, both the lesser and the greater are, of course, visible from this point.

FRIDAY, *July* 12*th*.—I went to look at the sacred buildings at 'Alíwál close to Baláram, and found the priests' houses there much dilapidated. I saw, too, some aged Rájpút guards on the gateway, who said that they were originally placed there by the Minister

Chandú Lál, but were now kept up by Rájá Nárindar, the Péshkár, or Deputy Minister.

I had an interview with the *vakíl* of the Shamsu'l-Umará in order to urge the appointment of proper persons on the spot within his great *jágír* to decide disputes connected with the Railway works.

SATURDAY, *July* 13*th*.—In the morning I went over the barracks of the 108th Regiment, it being the day for the regimental inspection of kits.

After that I went over the Orphanage at Secunderabad for Eurasian boys and girls, and then visited the Anglo-Vernacular School for the native youth of Secunderabad itself. I found some ninety boys present. The upper classes read and wrote well, and passed an excellent examination in the Geography of India. The institution was under the patronage of, and was mainly supported by, the Nizám's Government, and was further looked after by two Madrásí *mudaliyars* of Secunderabad, named Sómasundram and Rámanújam. After the examination I reminded the elder boys of their obligations to the Nizám's Government.

SUNDAY, *July* 14*th*.—Early in the morning I attended service in the Church built many years ago by Paranjudi, an enterprising Madrásí gentleman of Secunderabad. The service, attended entirely by native Christians and their children, was read in the Tamil language, exactly according to the English *Rubric*, and the singing of the *Psalms* was really very fair. The architecture of the building, especially the interior, was in a very respectable style.

MONDAY, *July* 15*th*.—I rode, accompanied by Major Woodcock, to Dundigal, a large village, ten miles from Baláram, and a *jágír* of the Sálár Jang, who sent some tents and servants to receive us. This *jágír* was originally obtained by the Minister's grandfather, the Muníru'l-Mulk, about the beginning of this century. I noted some extensive repairs and improvements in masonry work being made to the dam and sluices of the largest of the two tanks in the village.

We were pitched in an enormous mango grove extending over several square miles; the trees however were somewhat scraggy and stumpy. The grove is said to be at least as old as the Kutabsháhí Dynasty of Golkonda, under whom about forty small mosques were built in the village. On the other side of the tank there was a small, but very fine, grove of banyan and tamarind trees. The place must once have been much larger than it was then, but it was still a finely cultivated estate with beautiful soil.

I saw the *déshmukh* of the village, who was also the *patél*. I also saw the *déshmukh* of Sídhípet, a large village some miles off.

We were attended by the *ta'lukdár doyam*, or second assistant *ta'lukdár*, of the Médak District, of which the headquarters were at Singarédípet. He said that the civil staff of the district, which had a revenue of eleven *lákhs* of rupees, was a *ta'lukdár* or magistrate and collector, a *ta'lukdár doyam* and a *ta'lukdár soyam* (third *ta'lukdár*)—which last officer was in charge of the treasury—and four *tahsíldárs*; the district being divided

into *tahsils*, or subdivisions, much as in British Territory. The *ta'lukdár* received Rs. 800 a month, the assistant *talukdárs* Rs. 400, and the *tahsíldars* much the same pay as in British Territory. He added that there would have soon to be a fifth, or temporary, *tahsíl* to comprise the Bánswárá *ta'luka*, lately resumed from one of the Arab Jama'dárs, and brought under the direct administration of the Minister; which item of news was very satisfactory. This second *ta'lukdár* was a Maráthá Bráhman, who had formerly been employed in the Assigned Districts as a *tahsíldár*, and on the whole, so far as I could make out, there seemed to have been a fair amount of organization carried out in this district.

The people showed me some of the cloth manufactures of Sídhípet.

TUESDAY, *July* 16*th*.—The real burst of the monsoon commenced. It had rained all the previous night and it rained nearly all day. In the evening the sky wore every appearance of masses of vapour and moisture.

I went from Baláram into the Residency at Chadarghát in the evening.

WEDNESDAY, *July* 17*th*.—In the forenoon I went with the Minister to present certificates to five young men, who had passed at the recent examination at the Nizám's Medical School at Chadarghát. There was a delay in the Minister's coming, because he had not received the Nizám's permission in time;—however, the permission came at last, and the Minister arrived.

Arriving at the School, I presented the diplomas to

the young men, and afterwards I addressed them and the other students in Hindústání, reminding them of the debt of gratitude they owed to the Nizám's Government for having thus had them educated, and to the several Residency Surgeons for having taken so much pains with them. After that several men who had passed at former examinations, and some of whom were in capital practice, were presented to us, as were also the principal native gentlemen at Chadarghát.

The Minister then lunched with me, and after lunch we had a conversation on public affairs. I asked him why there had been a delay in getting the Nizám's permission for him to come with me. He said the fact was that several messages on other subjects had been passing between himself and his master on the two preceding days, and he had not liked in consequence to prefer any request to His Highness, consequently he had not asked leave till that very morning, hence the slight delay. The messages in question first related to three dreams which His Highness had had:—two relating vaguely to his relations with the British and one to the Vikáru'l-Umará, brother to the Amír Kabír. In one of these messages was conveyed to the Minister the following remark: "You obey the orders of your master, and never you mind whether the kingdom goes well or goes badly:" (*ri'ásat sadháre yá bigáre*). To this the Minister, after the usual Hindústání professions of obedience, replied: "If anything is to be done to the injury of the kingdom, I hope I may not be made the instrument." On receiving this message in reply

His Highness waxed wroth, and said it was just like the Minister's pride and obstinacy, &c., &c. Whereon a conciliatory reply was sent and the matter dropped. The Minister did not seem alarmed, but said it was only that the Nizám thought it just as well to trouble his Minister a little (*satáná*) now and then, to keep him in order.

He added that recently the Nizám had done two things which tended to good. He had turned out the intriguing Madrásí *fakír*, already mentioned, and had declared that Jamsetjee was a *shaitán* (devil), who richly deserved the expulsion he had got. The Minister repeated that the Nizám was not so troublesome as some of his predecessors had been, and mentioned another good point, that he did not cherish anger long, though the suspiciousness of his nature was ineradicable.

He also said that in a few days he was to have the Bi'smi'llah* ceremony performed for his daughter; that he hoped the Nizám would be present; that His Highness had been present on two such occasions in his family previously; and that he was going to solicit this favour of him now.

I asked him if it were true that the Nizám had ever sent any message about dismissing the judges of the Civil Court, and he said that there was no foundation for such a report.

* The ceremony of teaching a child to repeat the sentence, *Bi'smi'llahi'rrahmáni'rrahím*, 'In the name of God the merciful and compassionate,' is performed when it is four years, four months and four days old, with much pomp.

I asked him if he had seen a pamphlet about the claims of the Nizám; he said that he had not, adding that he would not let his people have anything to do with such publications, as papers praising up the Nizám did more harm than good, and only made His Highness's Government look ridiculous.

I asked him if he had taken any steps to have a committee to fix the remaining debts of the Nizám's Government, so as to get the Nizám's great diamond out of pawn; and he said that he was taking steps for this purpose.

He spoke further about insisting on the Shámsu'l-Umará establishing proper jurisdictions in the Págáh Jágírs, and acknowledged the advantage of recognising the full authority of the great Págáh *jágírdárs* within their *jágírs*, as that would keep them aloof from, and prevent their sympathising with, the petty *jágírdárs*, whose scattered jurisdictions it was desired to consolidate under one uniform police system.

He then asked me my opinion on two points of improved organization. Firstly: would it be well to reduce the number of members of the Hyderabad Board (Majlis) from five to two, and to divide the fourteen *zila's* of the Deccan into three circles, placing one of the three discharged members of the Board over each of the three groups, in much the same position as Commissioners in the British Provinces? Secondly: would it be well to separate police supervision from the Board, confining that body to revenue matters, and, instead of the plan then existing, to have a well-selected

Head of the Police Department at Hyderabad? I said that, at first sight, I thought that both these plans would be good, but that I would think it over further and let him know the next day.

I then urged him to try and make a tour and judge of the interior of the country for himself; but he replied that the Nizám would never willingly consent to his leaving Hyderabad; that His Highness' prejudice in this respect was inflexible, and that this was one of the conditions imposed on him when the recent rupture was patched up—to the effect that he should not leave Hyderabad.

He then alluded to the bother there would be in getting the Nizám to agree to give up certain small villages that fell within the limits of the Trimalgiri Cantonment; but he admitted that this was inevitable.

I admitted the many difficulties that loomed before him, but I advised him to keep up his courage and learn that difficulties were only made to be encountered. He said that if only his master would give him even the least support, he could manage everything, but that there was the rub!

THURSDAY, *July* 18*th*.—I wrote to the Minister to say that on consideration I thought both of his administrative projects just mentioned would be very good, and offered a few brief remarks as to details.

I wrote to Sir G. Yule at Simla, to ask what he thought of the idea of my asking the Nizám to let the Minister go on circuit in the interior of the country, and I put the pros and cons of this.

FRIDAY, *July* 19*th*.—The Shamsu'l-Umará's *vakíl* came to speak to me about the civil arrangements of the Págáh Jágírs, and I found that the Amír Kabír had appointed proper officials on the spot to look after this territory to some extent only. I urged the *vakíl* to beg his master to remedy the deficiencies, and wrote to the Minister to say I had done so.

SATURDAY, *July* 20*th*.—I saw Khandaswámi, one of the Minister's servants, who told me that his master had received rather a gracious message from the Nizám about the Bi'smi'llah ceremony. The Nizám did not exactly promise to come, but said he would let him know in due time, and Khandaswámi remarked that the moral effect of the Nizám's coming would be good, and would shut the mouths of people who spoke against the Minister.

I saw 'Azim 'Alí, the agent of the Mutahavvar Jang, the Jágírdár of Murádpur, who spoke of his master's *jágír* as being separate from the Díwání; meaning, I suppose, that the jurisdiction, police and civil, pertained to the *jágírdár* and not to the Díwání, or general administration of the country.

SUNDAY, *July* 21*st*.—Colonel Mainwaring, Quarter-Master-General of the Subsidiary Force, stayed with me, and showed me on the map how from the remarkable eastern bend of the river Manjhérá, about thirty miles north-west of Baláram, at a point near Lingampali, a canal might be conducted to water Baláram, Trimalgiri and Secunderabad.

MONDAY, *July* 22*nd*.—I took a small party of ladies

and gentlemen to visit the rock of Múl Alí, a sacred Muhammadan shrine about three miles from Baláram. At the shrine itself was an Arab guard, belonging to the force of Jama'dár Abdu'llah *bin* Shams, in the immediate service of the Nizám. The men seemed shy at first and surprised to see me, but they really were civil enough, and their *cháus*, or subordinate native officer, was a good-looking man. Some of them were real Arabs, and some were country-born; some had been a long time in the Deccan, and others had only been there a year or two. This would seem to show that, after all, Arabs were still from time to time imported into India for the Nizám's service.

I then saw the tomb and surrounding garden of Chandájí, who appears to have been a celebrated dancing girl at the Hyderabad Court, and to have died in the reign of the Nizám Sikandar Jáh, leaving vast wealth. This all escheated to the Nizám, who, however, refused to be the residuary legatee of a courtesan, and the avaricious old Minister Chandú Lál took it for the secret service department of his government. The woman Chandá, they said, was very handsome—moon-faced—and styled Mahálákhá; was educated, and used to dance, not only before the Nizám, but before the Péshwá at Poona, and also the Bhonslá Rájá at Nágpur, receiving always immense presents. They added, that there had been a difficulty in preventing the Nizám from placing her in his harem with some sort of marriage ceremony; that she was treated with high consideration, outriders accompanying her when she went out, and

the *naubat* (honorific) drums being beaten at her gateway.

In the village I saw Bahrámu'ddín, a native gentleman of some rank, and related to the Minister.

TUESDAY, *July* 23*rd.*—I received a note from the Minister to say that he had inquired, according to some verbal request I had given him, of the Nizám whether His Highness wished that the Vikáru'l-Umará should be restored to the presence, and be permitted to see the Resident, and that His Highness had said that he would give an answer in a few days.

WEDNESDAY, *July* 24*th.*—I received copy of a despatch from the Secretary of State reiterating the refusal, already given by the Government of India, to the request preferred by the Nizám's Government for the restoration of Berar, which I sent on to the Minister.

I wrote to the Minister about establishing some forest conservancy, sending him some papers prepared in the Central Provinces, and reminding him of the set of practical rules I had previously given him, as prepared by the Forest Department for the use of Native States.

THURSDAY, *July* 25*th.*—Early in the morning I rode into Chadarghát and took up my quarters in the Residency, going by a new road passing by the back of the Múl Alí Hill and Secunderabad. I observed the palaces at the village of Lálá Gurá occupied by the Shamsu'l-Umará family.

In the evening I received the draft of a proposed reply from the Minister to the Secretary of State's despatch.

FRIDAY, *July 26th.*—In the evening I went to see the stables and gardens of the Minister in the City. The stables were very extensive and excellently managed.

Afterwards I dined alone with the Minister, and he asked me whether I liked his proposed reply to the Secretary of State's despatch rebuking him for asking for the restoration of Berar to the Nizám's Government. I said that in the first place no reply in particular was required, and that in this draft there were two passages open to objection. Firstly: the passage which acknowledged the past mismanagement of the kingdom in former days; for however true this might be, the Nizám would not like to have it acknowledged, inasmuch as the last time I saw His Highness, he distinctly refused to admit the fact. If he would admit it, well and good:—indeed, all the better, but I rather feared otherwise. Secondly: as to the hope that satisfactory arrangements might soon be made for the restoration of Berar, I pointed out its remoteness and futility, for although the finances had improved vastly they were not on a permanent basis, but avowedly depended on the Minister of the day. What guarantee could be given for the payment of the Contingent? Again, if it were said that as the country settled down, the Contingent might be dispensed with, I showed that, despite the acknowledged improvement, we were still far from such a condition; for the Minister had confessed that the Arab Jama'dárs and their fitful and excitable followers were still masters of the City. Who then was to keep the Arabs down, save the Contingent or other British forces? There-

fore what was the use of talking about satisfactory arrangements? Nothing of the kind was possible in these times. The Sálár Jang admitted all this, merely adding that he was most fully aware that the Nizám's Government could not do without the Contingent. This he said emphatically. He remarked, however, that before the last treaty the expenditure on it by the British Government had been on an extravagant scale. He then asked me to return the draft, marking the passages which I would recommend to be omitted. This I said I would do.

After dinner the conversation turned on various subjects. The Minister spoke of the anxiety felt on account of the monsoon rains hanging off so much; adding that to the north and west the accounts were good, but not so to the east and south.

He said he hoped that the Nizám would come to the Bi'smi'llah ceremony, but that there had been a message to inquire whether he had told the Resident that the Nizám would attend?

I asked him why the Nizám delayed to give an answer about the Vikáru'l-Umará? He said that probably His Highness rather liked that the Vikaru'l-Umará should remain in seclusion, for thereby he was kept altogether apart from the Minister, and that the Nizám was constantly afraid lest the Minister should combine with the Shámsu'l-Umará party! I pointed out the absurdity of the idea, which the Minister admitted, saying that it was just like the suspiciousness of the Nizám and the absurdity of the Hyderabad people.

On some further conversation occurring, the Minister told me that the Nizám and the Court wished to keep the Resident as unacquainted as possible with the Muhammadan nobility of the country. I again pointed out the absurdity of the notion, but I rather feared that the Minister seemed to think that it was reasonable!

He said lastly, that he had begun to work the committee for the settlement of the debts of the Nizam's Government.

It was near midnight when I left the Minister's house to return home.

SATURDAY, *July 27th.*—I received a visit from Aghá Muhammad Shústrí, the President of the Majlis, who informed me that they had proved some forty cases of bribery against the Názim Jang, the ex-*ta'lukdár* of Wárangal; but that it was believed that the Nizám would try to save the man from being punished. I told him to do his duty, on the assumption that the Nizám would do his also when the time came.

I had a letter from the Minister to say that he had commenced a system of Forest Conservancy.

I sent back the draft reply to the Secretary of State* to the Minister with amendments.

SUNDAY, *July 28th.*—In the afternoon I had a visit from the Mukaddam Jang, son of the Saifu'ddaula, *alias* 'Abdullah *bin* 'Alí, the great Arab Jama'dár. The father was very old, half blind, and seldom able to go out, but was still very influential. The son, whose Arab name was Muhsin *bin* 'Abdullah, was a pure Arab, so he

* *See* above on the preceding page.

said:—at least his mother, as well as his father, were from Arabia. I avoided politics and chiefly talked to him on matters of no consequence. He was not a bad looking man, of youngish middle-age. On taking leave he professed the willingness and obedience of his father, himself, and his party to the Nizám's Government.

MONDAY, *July 29th.*—Early in the morning I sent the Second Assistant to explain verbally to the Minister that I still hoped that the Nizám's Government would give me every fair opportunity of becoming acquainted with Muhammadan nobility and gentry of the country. The Minister promised that this should be done. I was by no means sure, however, that it would, for this was the one, and so far the only, point on which I was dissatisfied with the Sálár Jang. It is a piece of traditionarily bad policy to keep the Resident secluded and in the dark as regards the real character, individually and collectively, of the upper classes. I feared that the Sálár Jang either gave in to the prejudice, or else concurred in it.

Later in the day I got a note from the Minister to say that, on consideration, he thought he would not send any reply at all to the Government of India, and would cancel the draft altogether.

TUESDAY, *July 30th.*—I spent the day at Sarvanagar, a place belonging to the Minister about four miles from the Residency, where I was attended by Khandaswámi, a *mansabdár*, and one of his principal servants, as above mentioned. This place, not far from the hill on which

stood Raymond's tomb,* had long been a favourite resort of the successive Ministers of the Nizám, and former Nizáms had also stayed there for a few days, a palace of theirs being still kept up.

In the afternoon I went out to Sáhibnagar, a place some four miles further on, where was a summer-house of the Minister. Also a deserted indigo factory, a concern got up some years previously by the Ogilvy family in the service of the Minister. The speculation failed because the indigo plant, though not bad, was not found to grow well enough to make the thing pay. I also looked at some ruined buildings apparently never finished, which I was told were commenced by the Kutabsháhí dynasty, who abandoned the place and moved to Golkonda, since so well known. Khandaswámi said that Golkonda was occupied by Hindús before it was taken up by the Muhammadans.

WEDNESDAY, *July* 31*st*.—For some days past there had been anxiety at Hyderabad about the monsoon rains, which had been scanty all through July, and which culminated on this day, as there was to be a new moon; the natives seeming very hopeful that the moon would bring rain. Towards that evening, sure enough, rain clouds did gather up!

An officer of ability and experience told me, as the result of his experience, that he was convinced that the object of the Minister in getting up the Reformed Troops was to substitute them for the Contingent; that

* This is much venerated by the people of Hyderabad, who pronounce the name of Monsieur Raymond as Mussú Rám.

this ultimate object would be veiled at present, and that the card would only be played as proper occasion might offer.

THURSDAY, *August 1st.*—On waking I found it raining pretty hard, but the clouds cleared off towards noon; a little rain, however, falling towards evening.

In the afternoon I had an interview with Faiz Muhammad, one of the Shamsu'l-Umará's *ta'lukdárs*, who lived at Hyderabad, delegating the management of his districts to subórdinates. He gave me a list of these subordinates, and I remarked that both their powers and their salaries seemed small. I wrote to the Minister an account of this interview.

FRIDAY, *August 2nd.*—The Shamsu'l-Umará's *vakíl* came to see me to-day, and I again impressed on him the necessity of having proper arrangements made for the management of the districts in the interior. He said that his master was attending to this, and had obtained a copy of the rules in force in the districts immediately under the Minister. I asked him if his master would attend the Bi'smi'llah ceremony at the Minister's on or about the 20th August, and he said that all the Shamsu'l-Umará family would attend, if the Nizám went, but not otherwise.

In the afternoon I received a visit from the Bahrámu'ddaula, a near relation of the Minister and already mentioned, who proved to be a polished man of long experience in the Deccan, recollecting the Residency since the time of Sydenham. He was reputed to be a man of open and amiable disposition, and of some his-

torical lore respecting the history of the Deccan. I did not ask him much about politics in this our first interview, but probably he did not trouble himself much about such affairs. He said that he enjoyed his *jágír* in comfort under the shadow of the Nizám's Government, which was protected by the British.

SATURDAY, *August 3rd.*—The rains came down well in the night, and the Músá near Hyderabad was in flood.

In the afternoon I had an interview with Maulaví Jamálu'ddín, the Chief Judge of the Díwání (Civil) Court of Hyderabad. He was a Madrásí Muhammadan once employed as a law officer in the Salem District, and he ought, therefore, to have been a competent man. He said that the work was hard and the number of cases decided by his Court very great, and that for execution of decrees against influential persons, it had to rely on the Minister's executive authority. Nevertheless, I gathered from him that decrees were sooner or later executed, and that even the Arab chiefs were not able to offer any open resistance to the Courts, though they might interpose delays passively. He said that the principal want was something of procedure and rules for proceedings. I asked why this was not done, as the Minister was known to be favourable; and he said that the only cause could be fear of exciting the displeasure of the Nizám, who disliked everything of the kind.

SUNDAY, *August 4th.*—A despatch came in from a Lieutenant of the Royal Artillery, asking my leave to

prosecute a suit in the Hyderabad Courts, as assignee under the will of one of the deceased widows of the late Wanpartí Rájá. From the papers it was apparent that this Ráni had some disputes with the other Ránís: that in order to carry her point she had been opening communications with various European gentlemen,—some in the service of the British Government, others in the service of the Nizám—and that this was the old story of attempts being made to enlist "European influence," as the phrase goes at Hyderabad. I determined that next day I would inform the Brigadier-General at Secunderabad of the applicant's conduct, that meanwhile I would warn him instantly to cease from interfering, and that I would tell the Minister also. I understood on inquiry that the Minister had very properly resisted this attempted interference, and that he had warned the European officers in his service accordingly. However, I felt that I should be better able to judge of the Artillery Lieutenant's blameworthiness when I received a reply from the General.

I received a despatch from the Government of India saying that on the whole, the exclusion of the Vikáru'l-Umará from the Residency and from being received by the Resident had better be maintained. I informed the Minister thereon that I did not wish him to move any further in the matter. I also rather inferred from the Nizám never having given the Minister any specific answer, that, contrary to expectation, His Highness did not now any longer wish this nobleman to be received.

MONDAY, *August 5th.*—Early in the morning, I paid the Amír Kabír a visit at his country gardens at the Jahán Namá, where I was received by the Amír Kabír himself and his nephew the Bashíru'ddaula.

The Amír Kabír looked much as usual—gentlemanly, cool-headed, sagacious, fairly disposed, and weak physically. The Bashíru'ddaula was in good spirits, two sons having been recently born to him, and was particularly polite and attentive. I did not talk to them much about politics, merely pressing upon them the necessity of appointing good men to exercise authority in the Págáh districts, and observing that I did not want them to introduce English regulations in particular, but merely those sound and practical principles of Government which are common to all civilized nations. The Amír Kabír said that he quite acknowledged these principles, and that his Mughal nation professed them too, though of late years they had been neglected. Still he would try to revive them! All this is, of course, only the way of promising, with scant performance, which these people have.

Among the Amír Kabír's servants present was Muhammad Shukúr, one of the best known characters in Hyderabad, and supposed to be a great drawback on the otherwise good management of the Amír Kabír, a great enemy of the Sálár Jang, and an inveterate fomenter of intrigue. The man, though all smiles before me, looked the character given him.

On passing and repassing through the City I was struck with the muddy, squalid character of the

streets; qualities to be seen just then in full development, as there had been heavy rain on the previous night. I should add that the view from the top of the Jahán Namá terrace over the City and environs of Hyderabad looked lovely in the morning.

In the afternoon I went, accompanied by Khandaswámi, who acted among other things as a sort of public-works manager to the Minister, to see the channel which leads past Golkonda to the Hussain Ságar Lake. I was glad to see the canal filled to the brim with water fresh from the rains in the hills and flowing towards the lake.

TUESDAY, *August 6th.*—In the morning the Bahrám-u'ddaula came by appointment to see the Residency house and grounds.

I heard from the Minister to the effect that he would attend to my directions *in re* the Vikáru'l-Umará.

That day Khandaswámi came to see me, and I asked him, as an observer of events and much in the confidence of the Minister, what he thought of the Vikáru'l-Umará's conduct during the late disturbance between the Nizám and the Minister. He said that the Vikáru'l-Umará was at the bottom of it—not exactly desiring himself to be Minister, but intending this office for his son, Khurshéd Jáh, and that this was put a stop to by his elder brother, the Amír Kabír.

WEDNESDAY, *August 7th.*—I received a reply from the Minister, saying that the Nizám objected to sending the Mutahavvar Jang to see me, whom I had asked to see again, as I had happened to know something of him,

in former days. But, because he happened to be one of the servants of the Nizám, being employed in the Sarf-i-Khás Districts, His Highness would not let him come, feeling jealous! This was a strong instance of the strange jealousy in the Nizám's disposition. I determined, however, to see if I could manage to overcome the objection, which was really unreasonable.

THURSDAY, *August 8th.*—I heard a rumour of some slight gambling going on in the Baláram Mess, and set an inquiry on foot, quietly, with a view to stopping this at once, if it really existed.

About this time I heard an amusing story about the Bukhárí *maulaví.** Calling on the First Assistant, Col. Stubbs, he said he was sick of judicial work at Hyderabad, and that he wished he could get back to Afghánistán and be employed as a spy, or anything in the secret line (*poshída*). This is just the Afghán character!

FRIDAY, *August 9th.*—During the whole week I had been much occupied with the preparation of the *Annual Administration Report* for the Hyderabad Assigned Districts (Berar). Also in preparing an elaborate reply to some questions put by the Viceroy in reference to the relative popularity of British and Native Rule, in reference to a speech in Parliament.

SATURDAY, *August 10th.*—I had a visit from Ahmad 'Alí, the Chief Judge of the Appeal Court at Hyderabad, whom the Minister believed to be hostile to his government, and to be otherwise of an indifferent character.

* *See* journal of the 22nd April.

He was a man of apparently open and pleasing manners, and was a native of Súrat, but had lived all his life at Hyderabad and had entirely risen in the Judicial Department under the Minister, till at length he had got to the top of it. He seemed, before me, to be friendly to the Minister and even grateful; but such seeming cannot, of course, be relied on. He said that the Courts were fast improving; that the Nizám did not thwart them, but supported them (rather a strange statement that!);—that the only person who gave them real trouble was the Vikáru'l-Umará and his people; and that the Arabs gave them a little trouble, but not much.

I also received a visit from a pensioned Native Officer of the Hyderabad Contingent, who said that it was generally believed that there were great delays and arrears in the Courts of the City; that in one Court,—the Lesser Díwání Court—there were said to be eight thousand cases pending!! I thought, however, that there must be some mistake about that.*

SUNDAY, *August* 11*th.*—I received a letter from Sir G. Yule saying he quite agreed with me that the Nizám's consent ought, if possible, to be obtained to the Minister's making a tour into the interior, that he would ask the Governor-General to support me in the matter, and that he would write further.

MONDAY, *August* 12*th.*—I heard that there had been some play at Baláram for stakes rather more than the

* The real figures were, however, subsequently found to be 6,938!!

officers could afford, and told the Officer Commanding the Station, demi-officially, that he would be held responsible for preventing anything of the kind recurring.

Reports having been received of certain men of the 3rd Regiment Infantry, Hyderabad Contingent, at Ilichpur, having been committed for trial for having been concerned in a robbery, I wrote to the Brigadier-General Commanding the Force to know whether something ought not to be done to the native officers of the Regiment, who seemed as a body to have been very remiss.

TUESDAY, *August* 13th.—The Minister attended a musical performance at the Residency by the Secunderabad Amateur Choral Society, and was, I have no doubt, much pleased with the music! I had not time to talk with him on political matters.

WEDNESDAY, *August* 14*th.*—I was much occupied this day in preparing the *Berar Administration Report.*

I received a visit from Haidar Bég, the police officer, who said that his jurisdiction had now been finally fixed satisfactorily; that although there were many small *jágírs* within his limits, his jurisdiction in them, especially in large cases was never disputed; and that his work went on uninterruptedly.

THURSDAY, *August* 15*th.*—I was much occupied this day in preparing my reply to the questions put by the Viceroy about the estimation in which British rule is held by the Natives.

I went over the Chadarghát *bázár* all round the Residency, planning various municipal improvements,

and ordering various reductions in the police establishments.

FRIDAY, *August* 16*th*.—The Minister came to see me by appointment, as I wanted to consult him as to the reply I should give to some general questions put by the Governor-General regarding the estimation in which British Rule was held by the natives. I particularly explained to him the points wherein I believed that the natives were apt to complain of British Rule, and he concurred in all these; and assured me that he had often heard these very points complained of. He also suggested a few others, which I embodied in my report, citing his authority.

I asked him about the Vikáru'l-Umará, and he said that he thought he was still intriguing.

I again asked him whether Khandaswámi was right in supposing the Vikaru'l-Umará to be at the bottom of the late troubles; and he said that the real origin was the Nizám's dissatisfaction at the Minister being made a K.C.S.I., and at the Extradition Treaty being proposed. He denied that the Nizám was inclined to shelter the Názim Jang, the corrupt *ta'lukdár*, from justice; but he said that the Nizám himself was the real cause of the tacit and indirect opposition met with by the Courts of Justice.

SATURDAY, *August* 17*th*.—I had a visit from the Amír Kabír's *vakíl* Fakhru'ddín, and I complained to him of the delays in notifying the arrangements made for the civil administration in the districts of the Págáh jurisdiction near the line of Railway.

During the day I finished my reply to the questions put by the Governor-General.

SUNDAY, *August* 18*th.*—The reply came in from the Artillery Lieutenant, who tried to justify his interference, and, in answer to my question as to whether he had been induced to this by any valuable consideration, he said he had not; but then he went on to say that the Rání had, unknown to him, bequeathed him a certain sum! I regarded this as a serious matter touching British honour, and considered what steps to take.

In the afternoon Ibráhím Jama'dár came to see me, and said that his case in the City was being decided satisfactorily, and that it was before the Kází and not before the Courts! It was not clear to me why a civil suit was taken away from the regular Courts and made over to the Kází.

MONDAY, *August* 19*th.*—I finished off the last parts of the *Berar Admistration Report.*

Padamsí Nainsí, the native banker, came to see me, and said that he had heard that the Minister was bringing up the accounts of the old debt of the Nizám's Government, and that the amount would be a crore (*karór*) of rupees! This must have been an intentional exaggeration. Alluding to Chandú Lál, this man said that that Minister had "plundered the people, and then spent the proceeds in almsgiving!" A tolerably sarcastic remark!

I ordered a letter to be addressed to the Minister, asking his views about the Artillery Lieutenant's

case, and let him see from the tone of my remarks that I was prepared to support his Government against illicit influence.

I also heard from the Brigadier-General Commanding the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, that he would remind all the Officers of the Force of the standing orders against their entering into any unauthorized communications with the Nizám's Minister or Officers.

TUESDAY, *August 20th.*—I received a letter from the Minister to say that the Nizám agreed as a special case and as a favour (!) to let the Mutahavvar Jang come to see me, though His Highness objected as a general rule to let such persons see the Resident. I doubted whether this was right on His Highness's part, but as I had told the Minister distinctly that I dissented from this idea, I did nothing more just then.

I wrote to the Minister, giving him a sketch of the *Administration Report of the Deccan,* which I proposed sending to the Government of India according to their request.

I also wrote to the Minister urging him to quietly commence improving the City of Hyderabad without offending Muhammadan prejudices, and warned him of the danger of epidemics arising from the filthy state of the City; especially if they should spread to the European troops.

WEDNESDAY, *August 21st.*—I received at last a visit from the Mutahavvar Jang. He was a stout, good looking man of the regular Mughal build, and said that

his father came from Shíráz to Hyderabad, and was then employed by the Nizám's Government as a *ta'lukdár* on a large scale; and that his own son was now employed as a *ta'lukdár* under the Minister. He himself had been sent to meet Mr. Bushby, the incoming Resident, in 1852, at Bezwárá on the Masulipatam Road, and Col. Davidson, when coming as Resident in 1856 at Sholapur. From what he said about his son chafing under the new rules and system, I saw just a trace of the regular Mughaláí opposition to the Sálár Jang. He spoke of the small pay now allowed to a *ta'lukdár*, and of what seemed to him to be the fine percentages and perquisites allowed to *ta'lukdárs* in former days. He seemed to quite enjoy the idea of the wealth and power which those men once possessed, without thinking of the abuses to which the system must give rise. He seemed quite to see the absurdity of the Nizám's jealousy about his visiting me.

THURSDAY, *August 22nd.*—I received a letter from the Minister saying that he would gladly furnish all the information required for my *Report on the Deccan*. I had rather feared from his last conversation that he would hesitate to do this, for dread of his master the Nizám.

FRIDAY, *August 23rd.*—I received a letter giving me a very unsatisfactory account of the arrangements made by the Shamsu'l-Umará for the civil jurisdiction in the Págáh Districts, seeming to show a desire on his part for evasion and delay. I wrote to the Minister re-

monstrating about this, and distinctly repeating my request for specific information.

SATURDAY, *August 24th.*—I wrote to remonstrate with the Minister about the Arab Sálih *bin* 'Akrabí not having left the City as ordered, as I learnt that he was still there.*

I also sent an Assistant to breakfast with the Minister and ask him with some particularity as to how far the present Nizám did, or did not, take any part in public affairs, in order that I might answer a query put to me thereon demi-officially by the Governor-General.

SUNDAY, *August 25th.*—I heard from Khandaswámi that there was now good hope that the Nizám would attend the Bi'smi'llah ceremony at the Minister's, and that it was arranged that the latter should attend His Highness the following morning to convey the formal invitation. This seemed satisfactory.

MONDAY, *August 26th.*—I heard in the morning that after all the Minister had not gone to see the Nizám, and thence perceived some hitch must have arisen. And then I heard from Lieut. Tweedie that it was known that the Nizám had at the eleventh hour decided not to attend the Bi'smi'llah.

An Assistant also brought me the Minister's reply to the queries as to how far the Nizám himself discharged any public functions. The substance was, that the Nizám himself did no work or business in any shape whatever, though he was always enquiring quietly about the Minister's conduct of the administration, and by

* *See* journal for 3rd July; p. 155 above.

verbal conversations exercising considerable influence and prestige. I wrote to the Governor-General to this effect.

TUESDAY, *August 27th.*—I got a note from the Minister to say that the Nizám had finally decided not to attend the Bi'smi'llah ceremonies on the ground of ill-health. The Minister added that His Highness was so unwell that his mother had been sent for to nurse him!

I also had a visit from Khandaswámi, who said that the Nizám, though ill, was not so ill as to be unable to attend, and that His Highness had been going about during that very day among the extensive precincts of his palace. He said that what had really occurred was in this wise. Early on Monday morning the Nizám sent a message to the Minister through the *vakíl* in the regular way, to the effect that he had dreamt that the Minister had come with all the troops to surround the palace, and had wanted to take him into custody for being an alchemist (*kímiagar*), and that there was a European in the crowd, on an elephant, whose face was not distinguishable. The Minister sent a soothing reply, but after that the Nizám again sent a message to say that he would not come to the Bi'smi'llah, assigning no reason, except indisposition. Considering the confidential position which Khandaswámi held about the Minister, I had to assume this report to be authentic. It was doubtless one of those signs whereby the Nizám indicated dissatisfaction politically.

WEDNESDAY, *August 28th.*—This was the day of the Bi'smi'llah ceremony, and I sent the Minister a gigantic bouquet of flowers from the Residency gardens, together with a Persian letter couched in the usual florid terms of Oriental congratulation. The previous practice had been, I understood, to send flowers to the Minister in masses, from the Residency Gardens, without any particular arrangement of colours. This time, however, I had the flowers arranged so as to set off their colours, and had them surrounded with every kind of variegated leafage both from shrubs and creepers. This bouquet was sent in a painted tub, the sides of which were, however, concealed by the hanging leaves. It was very large, and it measured 7 ft. 3 in. in circumference at the base, and 4 ft. 9 in. in height! I sent the Mír Munshí with it in charge to present it to the Minister.

THURSDAY, *August 29th.*—In the morning I received a flowery Persian letter from the Minister, returning thanks for the bouquet. Khandaswámi also came to say that all the adherents of the Minister were much gratified, because it showed that the Resident held the Minister in distinguished regard.

In the afternoon the Shamsu'l-Umará, accompanied by his nephew the Bashíru'ddaula, came in state to see the Residency Gardens. I received them there and showed them over the grounds. The uncle showed much interest in the plants, and walked about much,—insisting on doing so, to a greater extent than he is generally thought capable of. The nephew also seemed intelli-

gent and anxious to show what he was made of. I took him to see the Residency Cemetery and shewed him the tombstones of distinguished persons: *i.e,* persons of note in Hyderabad politics, such as Mr. Sydenham, Sir Wm. Rumbold, Mr. Bushby, Eric Sutherland, Hastings Palmer, and others. I found that he knew enough English to be able to decipher the inscriptions on the tombstones.

FRIDAY, *August* 30*th.*—Early in the morning I sent Lieutenant Tweedie to accompany General Grant, Commanding the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, on a visit to the Amír Kabír's gardens at the Jahán Namá Palace. On that occasion the Amír Kabír quietly expressed to Lieut. Tweedie some apprehension about the Nizám's health. His Highness, he said, was suffering from hydrocele, and would take no advice, and that he had urged His Highness to employ one of the Muhammadan physicians from the Medical School, who would soon cure this complaint.

SATURDAY, *August* 31*st.*—I mentioned to Khandaswámi what I had heard of His Highness's illness, and told him to do all he could with the Minister to get the Nizám to accept competent medical advice; but that such suggestion must be cautiously tendered, on account of the suspicious disposition of the Nizám.

I had a visit from Govind Ráo, a confidential servant of the Minister, and I asked him why the Nizám had not come to the Bi'smi'llah, and he said that the illness was only an excuse; that His Highness was not too ill to come; that if His Highness had been well, he

would still have given some excuse; and that the real reason was political dissatisfaction at the reforms introduced by the Minister. He said that this was the belief of the Minister's friends and adherents.

SUNDAY, *September 1st.*—A native officer formerly in the Hyderabad Contingent, but then in the service of the Minister, to whom he was related, came to see me. He was a travelled man and had been to Baghdád and parts of Arabia. I asked him what cause was assigned in the City for the non-attendance of the Nizám at the Bi'smi'llah; and he said that popular opinion pointed to the Nizám's dissatisfaction at the Courts of Justice being organised in the manner they were, at so many foreigners being employed, at the Muhammadan nobility being made to obey the law, and at grain not having been made cheap: also that the people supposed that the rupture of last spring had been healed up only on the Minister having made specific promises to attend to these things, which promises had not been fulfilled. He added that the City people said that the Amír Kabír's visit to the gardens on Thursday had been a pretext only; and that he had really come to the Residency on a political mission from the Nizám!

There was a heavy fall of rain during the day:—quite the best and most propitious we had had all the season.

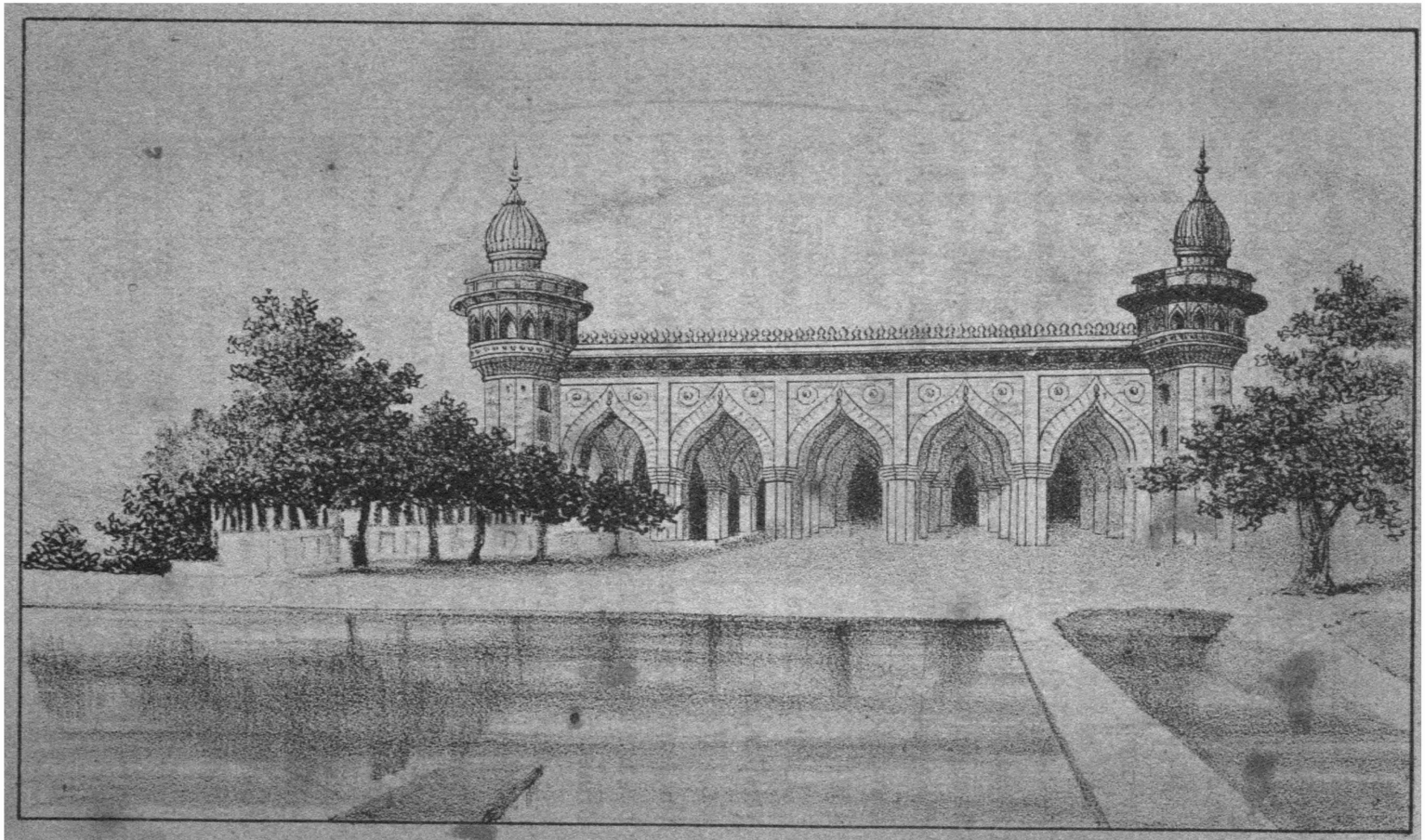
MONDAY, *September 2nd.*—I wrote to the Governor-General, asking him whether or not I should ask the Nizám to relax the existing restriction on the Minister's going out on tours into the interior of the country. I ex-

plained the pros and cons:—the pros being the great advantage these form to the administration and to the country: the cons being the difficulty of inducing the Nizám to agree.

I heard from the Minister to say that he had succeeded in releasing the Nizám's great diamond and other jewels from pawn with the native bankers, and had sent them to the Nizám, who had expressed himself pleased. I wrote to the Minister congratulating him on this financial result.

TUESDAY, *September* 3rd.—In the afternoon I went accompanied by Khandaswámi to see the feeder canal enter the Hussain Ságar Lake. The water was rushing in merrily, and the lake had risen three feet within the three previous days.

Coming home we passed a grove and garden, regarding which Khandaswámi told me the following story. It belonged to Bálmukand, well known in Hyderabad as one of the most influential and unprincipled of the officials of the evil times, and when he died his son inherited his property. The Nizám's advisers told His Highness that the father must have made an immense fortune during his long tenure of office; and that the son ought now, on succeeding, to pay up a large sum to him. The man was accordingly called on to pay, but he either would not, or could not, do so. Thereon Arabs were sent to sit upon him and worry him. He fell into despair and killed himself and his son. Thus he died childless, and this grove and garden lapsed to the Nizám to whom it then belonged; but Khandaswámi said



The Makka Mosque & Tombs of the Nizams at Hyderabad

that the Nizám was sometimes troubled with the recollection of the affair, and that Bálmukand's son was supposed to have been turned into a wizard, or devil, who would come some day to carry His Highness away!

WEDNESDAY, *September 4th.*—I went early in the morning to see the feeder-canal of the Hussain Ságar Lake, as it passed near Golkonda, and found it full and flowing. After that I went, accompanied by Khandaswámi, to see an old tank, called the Drúg Taláo, and an aqueduct which used in old times to supply water to the citadel of Golkonda, and stayed the day at the well-known tombs of the kings, which I had not seen since 1861.

I met a relation of the Minister, an agreeable conversible man, who was staying there for a change of air. He said that the Nizám's servants were neglecting the gardens and grounds round the tombs, which seemed but too true, and I asked Khandaswámi to speak to the Minister on the subject. The matter was a difficult one, however, as the place was looked after, not by the Governor, *i.e.*, the Minister, but by the Nizám's establishment personally.

In conversation Khandaswámi told me that the Minister had hesitated for some time about sending back the jewels to the Nizám, for fear of their being given away to some unworthy person; but that lately His Highness had become more careful, and that my note had roused the Minister's attention to the subject. Khandaswámi added, that when the Nizám received the jewels he expressed no satisfaction at his Minister's

good conduct. The Minister, on hearing this, merely said that he had done his duty, and that he could only hope that His Highness was satisfied.

THURSDAY, *September 5th.*—I heard from the Minister about the Págáh jurisdiction. He sent a list of the *ta'lukdárs* and deputy *ta'lukdárs* appointed by the Shamsu'l-Umará and the Vikáru'l-Umará, saying that if I approved of it demi-officially, he would send it up officially. I wrote back to say that the list would do all right, and begged that, with certain amendments, it might be submitted officially. I thought in my own mind, that if I could only get this done it would be a great point gained, as being a lever whereby I could apply moral force for the good management of the Págáh districts.

FRIDAY, *September 6th.*—I heard from the Minister that the Arab Sálih *bin* 'Akrabí, above mentioned, had departed from Hyderabad as ordered.

I heard from him further about the exploration of the Upper Godávarí within the Nizám's Dominions. He seemed afraid of a measure committing his Government to the undertaking of important irrigation works, but seemed willing enough to do anything, so long as it was in a small way.

SATURDAY, *September 7th.*—In the afternoon Bhagwán Dás, a very clever and intelligent Native Banker, came to see me, and I asked why it was that the Nizám had not attended the Bi'smi'llah. He gave exactly the same account as those which I have already recorded —namely, the popular belief that the Nizám was dis-

pleased with the Minister for establishing Courts of Justice, for employing foreigners, for refusing to interfere in the price of grain, and the like. He was himself convinced that the Nizám was not ill-disposed, but was only misled by the interested representations of those about him—for instance, those who hated the Courts of Justice, not from any abstract regard for justice and injustice, but from a fear of the restraint which such institutions would impose on their own proceedings, would whisper in the Nizám's ear that the Courts failed in rendering justice and often actively caused injustice. He added that the non-attendance of His Highness at the Bi'smi'llah thoroughly confirmed the popular belief that the Nizám in his heart disliked the Minister.

SUNDAY, *September 8th.*—Khandaswámi came to see me in the morning, and said that the Minister believed that the Nizám was now determined to adopt the treatment of the Muhammadans, who had been educated in the Medical School. In reference to my previous remark to him,* about the suspiciousness of the Nizám, he said the Minister had remarked that this suspiciousness only extended to political matters, but did not so much affect their private relations, and that he could offer to the Nizám advice upon private matters of this kind without reserve. He also said that the Hussain Ságar Lake had risen five feet within the previous week.

A native banker also called, who told me that the

* *See* journal for 31st August, above p. 190.

accounts of the harvest were good everywhere, and that even many of the tanks had filled.

MONDAY, *September 9th.*—A confidential servant of the Mutahavvar Jang came, who said that his master was particularly pleased with the interview he had had with me; adding that he was well aware of the absurd difficulties raised by the Nizám in the matter.

TUESDAY, *September 10th.*—When out riding in the morning I saw some of the Cavalry and Infantry of the Minister's Household Troops, which were quite distinct from the Reformed Troops. They were under the command of the Ghálib Jang, the Arab Jama'dár.

In the morning Khandaswámi came to explain that the Minister hesitated to accept my invitation to Baláram. He would come with pleasure for one day, because he could do that without asking the Nizám's permission; but if he had to do more than that, he would be away from home all night, and for that he would have to ask his master's permission, which he was unwilling to do, as during the recent rupture he had promised not to go out without His Highness's permission, which would, he feared, be granted with difficulty—so much so, indeed, that the very asking for it would put His Highness's back up! All this, of course, disclosed an extraordinary jealousy on the part of the Nizám, showing that His Highness kept, or wished to keep, his Minister in this respect in a state of childish thraldom. I pointed out the unreasonableness of it to Khandaswámi, and particularly

referred to the old practice, whereby successive Ministers had been in the habit of visiting the Resident at Baláram.

In the afternoon a party of gentlemen, who were staying with me, went to see the Minister's stable and gardens. He received them himself, and lionized them capitally; so they said.

WEDNESDAY, *September* 11*th*.—In the morning Rustamjí Vikájí, a *ta'lukdár*, came to see me, introduced by the Minister. He bore the character of being one of the best officials in the Nizám's service, and spoke in high terms of the Minister, and lamented the impossibility of reconciling the Nizám to him. He thought, however, that this ought to be possible. He went on to say that some of the people about the Minister rendered themselves unpopular with the Mughaláí people, that is with the Muhammadan gentry. I asked which of them did so, and he said at last that Jamsetjee was one, and this no doubt was true, and that Mr. Charles, an Eurasian member of the Majlis, was another. He then went on to abuse somewhat the Majlis, the other *ta'lukdárs*, Govind Ráo of the Minister's household, and almost everybody, as if he wished one to suppose that he, the speaker, was the only man in Hyderabad fit for anything! He spoke English very well, having been married in England to an English lady. On her death he went to England again and married her elder sister. This last marriage took place in Switzerland, on account of the "deceased wife's sister" difficulty in England. He was a Pársí, but

his children were being brought up in England by their mothers' relations.

In the afternoon I went to see the School, or Madrassa, kept by the Nizám's Government in the City. It was really maintained, of course, by the influence of the Minister himself, and had its abode in a house immediately adjoining his. There were some 200 boys and young men in it, and various languages were taught — English, Persian, Arabic, Telugu, Maráthí. The masters were well selected; *e.g.*, the English Master, Mr. Shafter, was an Englishman, the Persian and Arabic Masters, were regular *maulavís* from Persia, and so on. The English instruction was certainly very good and so was the Persian. In fact, the reading and the style of some of the Persian students was much better than can be ordinarily met with. The Minister was present at the examination, and after it I stayed to dinner with him.

After dinner I had a long conversation with him on political matters generally. He said that the Nizám's dream on the morning of the Bi'smi'llah may have been a real dream, and that His Highness brooded over things, talking about them over night, and then naturally enough returning to them in his dreams. This might be true, but if meant as an explanation, it only made the case rather worse, and the dream even more significant!

He then went on to say that he had just received an odd message from the Nizám, to the effect that the Shamsu'l-Umará, the Amír Kabír, had been ap-

pointing "big-turbaned men" to important posts in the Págáh jurisdiction. The Amír Kabír and the Vikáru'l-Umará had sent to say that they had received from His Highness a similar message, and had replied that appointing big-turbaned men could only refer to Maráthí *pandits* (Bráhmans), who had no doubt been appointed to some places, but whose appointment was necessitated by the fact that they possessed the requisite qualifications. To this message, as usual, the Minister sent a soothing reply, and it appeared both to the Minister and to myself that it could only refer to the recent arrangements to appoint proper and qualified persons to the Págáh jurisdiction. The Minister feared that the Amír Kabír and the Vikáru'l-Umará must have themselves been stirring up His Highness *indirectly* on the subject. This was likely enough, inasmuch as, though these personages nominally made the arrangements, they themselves hated all change, and if they did not themselves make mischief, such men as Muhammad Shukúr and others about them would do so. So the Minister thought, and added, too, that men like Muhammad Shukúr would fear that, if a proper administration of justice were effected, the next thing attempted might be a supervision of fiscal matters, which would stop peculations and embezzlements by many people!

I asked the Minister if it would be of any use my warning the Amír Kabir of the evil repute borne by Muhammad Shukúr, and he seemed to think it would.

Referring to the favourable impression made on me

by the Bashíru'ddaula, I asked the Minister what he thought about him, and he gave no particular answer.

He was evidently anxious about his master's disposition, and repeatedly asked me whether I could suggest any mode whereby he could please him and yet do his duty.

Recently one of the Minister's servants had been caught robbing, and had been made over to the Criminal Courts; but every one had laughed at the proceeding, saying that "as it was a clear case, why send the man to Court at all? why not iron him at once and cast him into prison?" The Minister mentioned this as an instance of the difficulty of making the Mughaláí people understand the need of judicial action.

I asked him whether he thought there would be any difficulty in inflicting condign punishment on the great offender, the Názim Jang, and he seemed confident that the Nizám would make no difficulty.

He thought also that His Highness would give no trouble about the appointment of *sadr ta'lukdárs*, as this measure was connected with the partial break up of the City Board (Majlis), and as he disliked the Board quite unreasonably. I saw, however, that the Minister had been making unnecessary hesitation and delay in bringing out the important measures connected with the *sadr ta'lukdárs* and the head of the police. I knew that I should learn in time what the cause of this was, but at the moment I attributed it to dread of his master. Many days previously he had written as if he had

done these things; that is, he wrote that he had made such and such appointments, but that the men to be appointed had not yet been informed!

I asked him about Govind Ráo, and he said that he was a quiet inoffensive man.

PROVINCIAL SECRETARIAT LIBRARY.

THURSDAY, *September* 12*th.*—In the afternoon I sent a gigantic bouquet of roses with a flowery Persian letter to the Nizám. Its dimensions were similar to the one which I sent to the Minister on the occasion of the Bi'smi'llah.

I drafted a letter to the Governor-General of India, asking for an engineer to survey that portion of the Godávarí, which lay within the Nizám's Dominions, and sent the draft to the Minister, who expressed concurrence.

FRIDAY, *September* 13*th.*—In the morning a party of ladies and gentlemen went in my carriage to see the Minister's stables.

In the forenoon I visited the School for English and Eurasian boys at Chadarghát, and found it in a satisfactory condition.

During the night and in the forenoon there was a good deal of rain, and in the afternoon the river came down in flood — so much so that the Chadarghát cascade was almost obliterated. This was the heaviest flood so far seen during the season.

In the afternoon the Minister came by appointment to see the Residency Gardens, and as it was the regular night for throwing open the Gardens to the society of Chadarghát, the band of the Reformed Troops

played. I showed the Minister all the plants and shrubs, and he seemed much interested. The same could not be said of the Arab Jama'dárs who accompanied him. These were the son of 'Umar *bin* 'Aud or the Barak Jang, the son of 'Abdu'llah *bin* 'Alí or the Saifu'ddaula, the Ghálib Jang, and several of their near relations and others.

The Minister dined with me afterwards, but I had not much opportunity of talking to him about politics. He said, however, that since his reply to the message about the "big-turbaned men," the Nizám had been silent, and this he seemed to think satisfactory.

Most of the officers of the Reformed Troops were present in the gardens.

SATURDAY, *September* 14*th*.—I received a Persian letter from the Minister conveying the Nizám's acknowledgments of the big bouquet of roses. Khandaswámi also came to say that His Highness had been much gratified, had sent for it into his seraglio, had shown it to the Begams, and had asked all manner of questions as to how it was put together.

SUNDAY, *September* 15*th*.—This being the day of *chihla* ceremonies, that is, those on the fortieth day after the birth of Bashíru'ddaula's two sons, in the family of the Amír Kabír, and a day of rejoicing for them, I sent an immense bouquet of flowers, of the same dimensions as those previously mentioned, together with a Persian letter.

In the afternoon Ibráhím Bég came to see me, and said that the common belief in the City was that the

heavy flood in the river of Friday had been caused by the bursting of the dam of some tank higher up the river.

MONDAY, *September* 16*th*.—Early in the morning I went, accompanied by Haidar Bég, the Minister's Police Officer, to see various municipal improvements, which had been made in the neighbourhood of the Residency *bázárs*.

In the forenoon I received a letter from the Amír Kabír in Persian, sent by his own *vakíl*, thanking me for the bouquet of flowers.

There was heavy rain all the afternoon and evening.

TUESDAY, *September* 17*th*.—I got a telegraphic message from the Governor-General asking if the Nizám would agree to a Madras Native Infantry Regiment from Secunderabad going to Sholapur in the Bombay Presidency, to relieve a Bombay Regiment required for the Abyssinian Expedition. I also sent to the Minister to ask the Nizám about it; but he first thought it was enough to ask him without referring to the Nizám. I would not agree, however, to this. At nine o'clock I got the Minister's answer, to say that the Nizám agreed to the regiment going to Sholapur.

In the afternoon I went with Khandaswámi to see the channel feeding the Hussain Ságar tank, and found it full of water and running merrily.

WEDNESDAY, *September* 18*th*.—Early in the morning I drove with the Minister and his nephew to Secunderabad. First we met the General and his Staff at the Public Rooms, where we showed the Minister the

Library and the maps; then we took him to the General Hospital for European soldiers; then to the soldiers' reading room; then to the military prison, where we showed him both the cells and the prisoners, and explained to him the discipline, &c. We next took him through the interior of the barracks of the 21st Royal North British Fusiliers, which were in beautiful order, Colonel Robertson showing us over most kindly. After that we saw the regimental reading room, and then a class, under an instructor, went through gymnastic exercises, which showed great physical power in the men. The Minister and his attendants, especially the Arab chiefs, looked on quite edified. Lastly, we breakfasted with the Officers at their Mess, the band playing, &c.

After breakfast we went over the engines, machinery, and workshops of the Public Works Department, showing the Minister and his party the immense logs sawn by steam, and all the elaborate carpentry done by the "general joiner" machine. After that we went over the new double-storied barracks then being built for the Artillery at North Trimalgiri, from the tops of which we saw a splendid view of the great cantonments of Trimalgiri. Thence we went on to the Residency at Baláram, which we reached at noon.

In the afternoon I took the Minister in my carriage to see a short review of the Baláram force (Hyderabad Contingent), and he was particularly pleased at the appearance of the Cavalry. The setting sun shining over the green grassy plain and the glittering troops made a very

pretty sight. After the review I introduced to him the Native Officers—the European Officers he knew before. Then I drove him in my carriage through the Artillery lines and stables, and thence home by the town of Baláram to the Baláram Residency, where he dined with me, driving back after dinner to Hyderabad. This must have been a hard day's lionising for him, but I could not prevail on him to stay another day quietly at Baláram. He seemed much pleased and diverted by all he had seen.

Khandaswámi came to see me, and I told him that very few native noblemen had had the advantage of seeing the interior of the barracks of a first-rate European Regiment, as his master had had during the day.

In the afternoon and in the evening I had some conversation with the Minister about political matters. He said that the Nizám had at first hesitated to give an immediate answer about the regiment going to Sholapur, but, when pressed, gave an affirmative reply, adding that he should hold the Minister responsible that this was all right according to the Treaty.

The Minister seemed very anxious about the present temper of the Nizám, lamenting that it was impossible to obtain his master's confidence, and saying that this Nizám, though in many respects better than his father or grandfather, was yet more suspicious in temperament than any of them; saying, too, that he was worse off in one respect than Chandú Lál, because that Minister had friends at Court and adherents even in the Nizám's palace, whereas he had not a single friend

anywhere about the Nizám, and indeed was prohibited by his master from having anything to say to the Nizám's people.

He then told me that the Díwání (Civil) Court at Hyderabad was not in good order, and was clogged with arrears; that countless claims were brought before it, because there was no expense and no stamps, &c. I asked him why he did not have stamps, and he said the difficulty was chiefly this:—that if a man laid a claim and got a decree there was no certainty that the decree would be executed, because, not only were individuals among the Nizám's relations inclined to set themselves above the law, but also many others, such as the Arab Jama'dárs and the Shamsu'l-Umará people were inclined to do the same. Therefore, he said he hesitated to have stamp laws. This was not, of course, a very conclusive reason; but he went on to say that he still thought of having stamps as a reasonable source of revenue. In that case, however, he would have to ask the Nizám, which he did not relish, because His Highness, though appreciating the increase of revenue, would dislike this particular resource, simply because it savoured of the English.

In reference to the correspondence about cleansing the City of Hyderabad, he said the real difficulty consisted in the opposition of the Kótwál, or head of the city police, who hated improvement, and who, though appointed by the Minister looked up to the Nizám direct, and was really beyond the Minister's authority. He promised, however, to do something in this matter, though

here again the real difficulty was the Nizám. He added, that some years previously he had made an attempt to improve the City, which the Nizám resented and had never indeed forgiven.

I urged him to look a little sharp in bringing out the arrangements about the *sadr ta'lukdárs* and the new Police Department, and he promised to do so.

He said that the Vikáru'l-Umará was perpetually asking by messages to get the ban removed.

THURSDAY, *September* 19*th*.—I spent the day at Baláram, accompanied by Lieut. Tweedie, who said that he, too, had mentioned the Bashíru'ddaula to the Minister, who at once pricked up his ears. This struck me as odd, and as showing that, perhaps, the Minister was jealous of the Bashíru'ddaula. In further conversation it was clear to me that Lieutenant Tweedie had also learnt in various quarters, as I had done, to the effect that the Nizam was getting more and more sulky with his Minister.

FRIDAY, *September* 20*th*.—In the morning I went with Major Price, the Chief Engineer, to inspect the new barracks being built for the Artillery at Trimalgiri.

In the afternoon I received the native officers of the Contingent Troops at Baláram, and I asked them about reliefs. They admitted more frankly and fully than I should have expected the desirability of having these every three or four years, saying that the sepoy benefited thereby, and was not at all troubled or put to undue expense if the reliefs did not take place oftener.

SATURDAY, *September* 21*st*.—In the afternoon I went

over the arsenal and magazine at Secunderabad, and arranged with the General that the Minister should have an opportunity of seeing it.

A native banker came to see me who said he had been at Secunderabad ever since its first establishment, and described the rapid growth of the place to me.

SUNDAY, *September 22nd.*—The Sálár Jang had expressed a desire to make a present to the soldiers of the 21st Fusiliers, whose barracks he had visited. After consulting the General, I replied that if he did anything in this way, it would be better to give some small present of books to the Soldiers' Institute, which would be then available for the whole force.

I saw Padamsí Nainsí, the native banker, who said that the accounts of the harvest and crops on all sides were good.

MONDAY, *September 23rd.*—I received the Governor-General's reply to my reference about the Minister's going on tour, to the effect that, although this would be most beneficial to the country, yet, if the Nizám could not be got to agree to it without strong pressure, he could not well take any decided action. On this I determined not to move in the matter further, for I had no hope that the Nizám could be got to agree, by any persuasion which I could ordinarily use.

Sayyid 'Alí, a servant of the Shamsu'l-Umará, came to see me. He had been under me at Nágpur, and I asked him whether there was any talk in the City about the Nizám being discontented with the Minister. He said the rumours which have been mentioned as

prevailing since the Bi'smi'llah ceremony, had gained ground within the last ten days; but that the truth of the Nizám's sentiments could not be known, and that these rumours were derived from the tales spread by the women about the palace, who were regularly paid for their information. He added, that the Nizám had held the Amír Kabír as security for the Minister's good behaviour, and that His Highness was displeased with the Amír Kabír as well. He went on to say that the Vikáru'l-Umará was most anxious to get the ban of his exclusion from the Residency removed.

I saw Faiz Muhammad, who said that the reports of the harvest and crops were good.

In the evening I met Khandaswámi, who told me it was reported in the City that the Nizám had refused to see the Amír Kabír, which rather corroborated what Sayyid 'Alí said.

TUESDAY, *September 24th.*—Early in the morning I rode out on a brief excursion to Farrukhnagar, about thirty miles on the Karnúl road. I passed through the City on my way, and near the Nizám's Palace I was struck by the frightful amount of filth in the roads and streets, all which might have been easily cleared away at slight expense, without causing annoyance to any one and without offending any prejudice.

I passed by Shamsábád and found the Amír Kabír's people waiting there, but did not stop, and got to Farrukhnagar in time for breakfast. I met one of the police officials employed under Haidar Bég, the Zila'dár, who said that he had a certain sort of jurisdiction in

the *jágírs*, though sometimes the *jágírdár* was a sort of go-between and buffer; and that he was obliged to step more cautiously in the *jágírs* than in the districts directly under the Minister. He complained much of the Arabs, of whom there was a small party posted in Farrukhnagar, as being troublesome and disobedient.

Farrukhnagar was in the *jágír* of Rájá Nárindar, the Péshkár or Deputy-Minister. The Rájá's *náib*, or deputy, met me on the road, and the townspeople received me very politely. I rested the day in a bower in a garden belonging to 'Azim 'Alí Khán, which was tastefully fitted up. 'Azim 'Alí Khán was an agent of the Mutahavvar Jang, one of the Nizám's *ta'lukdárs*, and had his headquarters at Mujáhidpur some miles off. The garden at Farrukhnagar was his private property.

In the afternoon I went to see a large tank in the neighbourhood, which I found half full only.

At night I slept in the traveller's bungalow on the high road at Farrukhnagar.

WEDNESDAY, *September 25th.*—Early in the morning I went to see the extensive temples built by Rájá Narindar's father, Bálá Prashád, a well-known man in Hyderabad politics and the son of the Minister Chandú Lál. As the family were originally Sikh Khatrís of the Panjáb, there were, of course, Sikh as well as Hindu priests in the temples.

I then went to see a sacred hill in the neighbourhood, called Rámésarkúta. From thence one could see a large tract of country, in which, as elsewhere, the

tanks seemed only half full. The amount of culturable waste, though dotted over with villages, and with groves of tamarinds, seemed immense—thousands and thousands of acres! I asked why the country was not more cultivated; and they admitted that no doubt most of the upland ground of the undulations (*chalká*) was culturable and would grow millets and pulses (*punás*), though rice could only be grown in the hollows watered by tanks. They said that occasionally there was some increase of cultivation.

'Azim 'Alí Khán told me in conversation that the Nizám had made over the Sarf-i-Khás *ta'luka* of Mujáhidpur to the Mutahavvar Jang, who in his turn had made it over to him as deputy; that he really managed the *ta'luka* and represented the Civil Government therein, deciding disputes, arresting criminals, &c.; that he was frequently in the *ta'luka;* that, however, for a large part of the year he lived in the City, some thirty miles off; that he kept a sub-deputy on the spot for petty cases; but that in every serious case he was obliged to go himself to the spot. This roundabout arrangement did not sound good, but might have worked pretty well, as 'Azim 'Alí Khán was an active and practical man. He said that he had had a dispute with the Minister some years ago about the misconduct of a certain Zamíndár, named Rámésar Ráo, but he admitted generally the Minister's merits; adding, however, his belief that sooner or later there must be a rupture between the Nizám and the Minister.

I stayed the day in the summer-house in the garden,

and left in the afternoon, returning twenty miles to Shamsábád, which I reached in the evening. I was received by Muhammad Shukúr on the part of the Shamsu'l-Umará. The town was illuminated, the leading native bankers were introduced to me, and I was put up most hospitably in the Amír Kabír's own house.

THURSDAY, *September 26th.*—Early in the morning I went out with Muhammad Shukúr and other officials of the Amír Kabír to look round the town, which is a walled one. It was originally built with four streets running out at right angles from the centre, and was tolerably clean.

After that I rode into Hyderabad and returned to the Residency, on my way stopping to look at the tombs of the Shamsu'l-Umará family. I noticed especially those of the Tégh Jang, the first Shamsu'l-Umará, and of the one who had died recently.

That morning at Shamsábád I took the opportunity of speaking to Muhammad Shukúr, who seemed just then inclined to listen to me, as he is reputed to be an intriguing character very hostile to the Minister. I explained to him that the Págáh jurisdictions near the line of Railway must be properly managed; otherwise cases would be always arising and there would be endless complaints. This he apparently admitted. I also explained that there was no intention of unnecessary interference, and that there was no other object in view save the honour and good name of the Amír Kabír's administration. He seemed to acknow-

ledge all this, and remarked that the Amír Kabír had submitted a programme of improved arrangements, which he was prepared to carry out immediately they were approved.

On returning to the Residency I received a visit from Dr. Wyndowe, the new Residency Surgeon, who had just joined.

Also Mr. Vere, the Deputy Commissioner of Customs, came to stay with me for a few days, and to take orders in detail about the new salt customs line to be carried round the Assigned Districts (Berar).

FRIDAY, *September 27th.*—Khandaswámi came to see me, and I told him to tell the Minister what I had seen of the remediable dirt of the City.

He said that no unpleasant message from the Nizám had been received by the Minister, but that His Highness had been trying to frame excuses for his conduct in not receiving the Minister on the plea of ill-health. It seemed certain that some aggravations of the ailment (hydrocele) had been apparent of late, and that the Nizám still hesitated to adopt any proper remedy, refusing the advice of Muhammadan practitioners trained in the Medical School. His Highness, it seemed, complained a good deal of physical distress just then.

I wrote a long letter to the Governor-General, the burden of which was that if he wished the Nizám to preserve anything of independence, we must try to induce him to make his government a good one; and that if left to himself His Highness would bring him-

self to grief and ultimately imperil his own independence.

I saw Lieut. Tweedie, who told me that in the City the reports still gained ground to the effect that the Nizám was desirous of bringing on a rupture with the Minister. I could not, however, so far discover any signs of it.

SATURDAY, *September 28th.*—Early in the morning I went with Major Thomas to see the logs of rosewood (*shísham*) and *babúl* (*acacia arabica*), belonging to his department, about 220 in number, placed in a tank to be seasoned, and understood that they all came from the forests in the Wárangal district, and the neighbourhood of the Pákhál Lake. The serjeant in charge told me that in the neighbourhood of that lake there were beautiful forests of *shísham* and *babúl* trees, which might easily be preserved, and were at present being cut in the most wasteful manner. I explained that the Minister was establishing a system of forest conservancy. The serjeant also said that in the spring and summer season he and his party found the neighbourhood of the lake quite free from fever. I afterwards wrote to the Minister to say what I had heard about the want of forest conservancy in the Pákhál Forests.

I heard from the General that orders had been received from the Military Department about the move of the 108th Regiment to Poona.

The Minister's official letter was received, sending the lists of the Págáh *ta'lukdúrs,* and asking if I

thought it all right. I replied in the affirmative, and that if the Shamsu'l-Umará and his brother only acted up to the arrangement there would be great improvement in the management of the Págáh districts.

I wrote to the Governor-General explaining about the real position of the Arabs in the Hyderabad City and Country, also about the state and prospects of the Nizám's Reformed Troops.

In the afternoon there fell heavy rain, which seemed to be either the ending of the south-west, or the beginning of the north-east monsoon.

SUNDAY, *September 29th.*—Heavy rain, two inches, fell in the forenoon, being apparently the first sign of the north-east monsoon.

I received a visit from Mirzá 'Alí, a physician educated in the Chadarghát Medical School. He was a native of Shíráz, and I asked him what he supposed was really the matter with the Nizám. He said he had not seen the Nizám, but that he believed that His Highness was suffering from hydrocele with various aggravations, which could, if properly treated, be certainly cured; but which, if ignorantly treated as at present, would cause great inconvenience and ultimately render His Highness unable to walk about. He added, that His Highness would not consult any of the medical officers employed under the Minister, for fear of treachery; and that in this respect the suspiciousness of His Highness was almost beyond belief.

Hassan Raza', a judge of the Faujdárí (Criminal) Court in Hyderabad, came to see me, and said that the

Díwání (Civil) Court was supposed to be heavily in arrears with its work, from which incubus it would never recover, unless some special arrangement were made.

MONDAY, *September* 30*th.*—Early in the morning I took the Minister to see the arsenal at Secunderabad. He was accompanied by several of his native officers, and, among others, by the Arab Chiefs, the Ghálib Jang and the Barak Jang. They were all shown over the arsenal, the stores, the gun-carriage shed, the armoury, and the workshops, and seemed much interested. The gun-carriage shed and the armoury in particular presented a fine spectacle, and I hoped that the moral effect on the Arab Chiefs of seeing all this material was good.

After that we breakfasted with General Grant, and returned to the Residency by noon.

There was heavy rain during the day, apparently pertaining to the north-east monsoon.

Before the Minister left the Residency I had a long conversation with him about political affairs, and he said that the Nizám was still suspicious, and had recently sent a message to know about three things:—namely, was there a fort being erected in Secunderabad? Was there a letter for the Nizám coming from the Governor-General? Was it the fact that the Minister had represented to the Resident that His Highness the Nizám was illiterate, &c.? To this the Minister said that he had replied as follows:—firstly, that only a sort of mud entrenchment was being put up round the

barracks, similar to what had been raised up during 1857; secondly, that he had no knowledge whatever of any *kharíta* from the Governor-General being on its way: thirdly, that he had never represented to the Resident that the Nizám was unfit, but that on the contrary the Resident had frequently expressed himself to the effect that the present Nizám appeared to be much better than either his father or grandfather had been. On receiving these assurances His Highness seemed much gratified, and continued talking for some time to the *vakíl*, the Tahniyat Yáru'ddaula.

The Minister seemed on the whole to be much better satisfied in respect to his master's disposition than he had been for some little time past.

I then told the Minister that it was commonly reported that the Nizám was dissatisfied with the Courts of Justice, especially with the Díwání, which was said to be overwhelmed with arrears. He replied that this Court had several thousands of cases in arrear, and that he would appoint a special officer to clear them off.

I spoke to him about the expediency of bringing out the orders soon about the *sadr ta'lukdárs*, and of obtaining the Nizám's sanction to the measure in general terms. This he said he would do, and he seemed sanguine that the Nizám would offer no objection. My impression, however, at that moment was that there was, for some reason or other, a certain degree of vacillation and dilatoriness about the Minister's proceedings in that matter.

TUESDAY, *October* 1*st*.—'Abdu'l-Karím, the Ta'lukdár

of Nalgúnda, came to see me. He was of an old *jágírdár* family in the Gantúr, now Kistna, district of Madras, when it was under the Nizám, and was a Muhammadan gentleman of refined manners and superior education. He gave me a great account of the tanks in his district, saying that many had been repaired to the great improvement of the revenue, but that many more might be repaired with advantage. He complained of the want of money and of professional resources for the repair of tanks, and described the business which devolved on him as head of the district as very heavy.

He then spoke with greater frankness than might have been expected about the Nizám's Government, and said that he believed, and that others believed, that the only chance which the Nizám's Government had of keeping its independence lay in its being a good Government. If it became a bad one, it would only follow the fate of Mysore and Oudh: if it remained as good as at present, the British Government would leave it alone. He condemned the Majlis-i-Málguzárí at Hyderabad as inefficient. He also said that during the recent disagreement between the Nizám and the Minister there was no great alarm among the ryots, but that the upper classes rejoiced.

In the evening I wrote to the Minister suggesting that he should send Mirzá Músá, or some such person belonging to his educational department, on a tour of inspection in the interior, and establish at Hyderabad a School of Engineering to teach the Mughal youth

a little practical science, so that they might serve under the Nizám's Government as Civil Engineers.

WEDNESDAY, *October 2nd.*—I went early in the morning, accompanied by a party of ladies and gentlemen, to visit the Mír 'Alam Lake.

Passing on an elephant through the City I was again struck with the accumulations of filth and water, and the natural facilities which existed for clearing these away.

Arriving at the lake, we were met by the Minister in his little steam-boat, named the *Deccan*, on which he had a band playing. In this we steamed about the lake, admiring the massive dam and the granite rocky hillock and islands. The lake, however, was not quite full, and did not yet overtop the dam and cause a sort of cascade, as is usual at this season. We then breakfasted in tents on the bank, the Nizám's troops, the horsemen, equipages, &c., making a very pretty scene.

We spent the day there, and in the afternoon again went on board the steamer to go about the lake, and then once more mounted on elephants on our way back towards the City. On the road we stopped to see a fine garden and summer-house belonging to the Arab Chief, the Ghálib Jang, the chief himself lionising the party about the place with more politeness than was to be expected of an Arab.

Lastly, by evening and dusk we passed through the City on our way back to the Minister's house. The long procession of elephants, the torchlights, and the crowd, altogether made a peculiar and even beautiful scene.

After dark, too, at that hour the streets are crowded, the usual squalor of the City is less perceptible, and those buildings which are fine stand out in stronger relief. All the way back from the Minister's house we were attended by a vast crowd, very orderly and respectful in its demeanour. The gentlemen of the party, including General Grant, commanding the Subsidiary Force at Secunderabad, seemed struck at the improved demeanour of the city crowd, and all were struck with the excellence of the Minister's hospitality at the Lake.

In the evening we dined with the Minister, and returned to the Residency.

During the day I had off and on a good deal of conversation with the Minister. He warmly approved of the proposal to have a school of engineering at Hyderabad, and seemed to appreciate the advantages even more strongly than I did, and declared himself much obliged (*mashkúr*) by the suggestion. He also said he would send Mirzá Músá on a tour of educational inspection.

I asked him whether he would object to any British money being spent on the road between Hyderabad and Kulbarga; and he said his Government would object, but that if any more surplus revenue from Berar should be given over, some of that might be so spent.

I asked him how cases of property came to be tried by the City Kází; and he said that this only occurred when the cases related to the Muhammadan law of inheritance, to marriage, divorce, and the like.

In the evening I spoke to him seriously about the

filth of the City, pointing out how easily it might be cleansed, and this, too, without offending any prejudice or interfering with any one. He admitted this, saying "*ho saktá*," and declared he would see to it. I complimented him on the improved demeanour of the Arabs, and suggested that he should urge the Arab Chiefs to teach their men the advantages of civility.

THURSDAY, *October 3rd.*—Rain fell again in the afternoon, altogether making up four or five inches since the 30th September, when the north-east monsoon began to fall. This, it was hoped, would be beneficial to the tanks.

FRIDAY, *October 4th.*—In the morning I met Haidar Bég, the Minister's police officer for the environs of the City, and expressed to him my satisfaction at the small return of heinous crime for some months past.

I saw Rustamjí, the *ta'lukdár* mentioned in the journal entry for 11th September. He had been recently employed by the Minister in arranging the details for the new *sadr ta'lukdáris*, and said that he thought the four divisions, or *sadr ta'lukdáris*, would not suffice for so large a country as the Deccan. He also thought that the pay which the Minister intended to allot to the *sadr ta'lukdárs* would not prove sufficient. In this, however, I feared he had an eye for his own interest, for he expected to get one of the *sadr ta'lukdáris* for himself! Still he thought the new arrangement would be a great improvement over the present plan of the Majlis-i-Málguzárí, which he condemned as inefficient.

I saw Govind Ráo of the Minister's household, who told me an amusing story about the Nizám, to the effect that His Highness was usually afraid to eat the food that had been expressly prepared for him, but was in the habit of going about at meal time from one lady's apartment to another, and eating from her dish! In this way His Highness thought to secure himself from the risk of being poisoned.

I sent to the Nizám an enormous bunch of Gindí (Madras) plaintains, having upwards of one hundred plaintains on one stem, together with a lot of flowers laid out on what is called a *chaman*, or tray of flowers.

I also sent in the usual official application in Persian to the Nizám for a farewell reception and interview, before my departure for Berar, which was fixed for the 21st October.

SATURDAY, *October 5th.*—Early in the morning I left the Residency for Ambáripet and Malkápur on the Masulipatam road.

I found that Ambáripet was once the *jágír* of the Nizám's mother, and that after her death it was brought into the Sarf-i-Khás, or Nizám's own jurisdiction, and by His Highness made over to the Saulat Jang, whose *náib* or deputy met me on this occasion. The *náib* said that the rental of this estate used to be Rs. 3,000, but had become Rs. 5,000 since the rise of prices: similarly another village named Amjyál near Baláram had risen from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 8,000.

At Hayátnagar near Ambáripet, I was struck with

an old mosque and a really splendid *báolí* (well), and found that half the estate was in *jágír* to the Vikáru'l-Umará.

In the afternoon I marched into Malkápur, attended by the *amín* or police officer of the road, who occupied much the same position as the official who had accompanied me to Farrukhnagar. He had all his police out, and they seemed in very fair order, both horse and foot. He said that he had full jurisdiction over the road, but only a partial jurisdiction over the villages along it, which were all in *jágír*. If, however, a crime was committed, he followed up and arrested the criminal, even into the *jágír* villages; but when caught the criminal was handed over to the *jágír* authorities, a report being made by the *amín* to his chief, Haidar Bég; or, if the *jágír* authorities declined to take charge of the prisoner, he was taken in custody by the police. This plan, if really followed, might not be theoretically perfect, but it might answer sufficiently well, without unnecessarily offending the *jágírdárs*, who were all persons of proverbial influence with the Nizám or his Government.

Halfway between Ambárípet and Malkápur lay Bhátí Singawáram, an important village.

Malkápur estate was the property of the Jama'dár of Náráyanpur, but the revenues were assigned to Daulat Khán, a Pathán in the Minister's service, for the keeping up of *sawárs*. He kept a *náib*, who did the civil and quasi-judicial work of the place. Commissariat cattle from Secunderabad were sent to this

place to graze. There was a fine *saráí* built by the former Minister, the Mír 'Alam, and the town nestled, as it were, in the midst of a number of low granite hills.

SUNDAY, *October 6th.*—Early in the morning I went to spend the day at Tumalgarhá (or Tumalagudiam), near the banks of the Músá. It was very hot—unusually so for the Deccan—and I stayed during the heat of the day in a beautiful tamarind grove.

MONDAY, *October 7th.*—I marched back to Ambáripet, and after breakfast had a conversation with 'Abdu'l-Karím, the *ta'lukdár* of the Nalgúnda district, about the repair of tanks.

In the afternoon I drove amidst pouring rain back to the Residency, and thence I went with the Mukaram-u'ddaula, the Minister's nephew, to see the gathering of Hindu worshippers and holiday makers at the Dasahrá festival.*

In the evening I got a note from the Minister, saying that he feared that the Nizám would have great difficulty in holding a farewell reception before my departure for Berar by reason of ill-health.

TUESDAY, *October 8th.*—I got a note from the Minister saying that the Nizám had replied to the application for an interview, to the effect that His Highness feared that the state of his health would render it impossible for him to hold a reception by the date fixed. This view was much backed up by

* This festival commemorates the classical war between Ráma and Rávana, as celebrated in the *Rámáyana*, and is the great Hindu military festival of the year.

the Minister. It was unfortunate, considering how important it was that His Highness should hold an interview if possible. So I thought it best to convince the Minister first, and wrote to him, saying that such a reception was justified, almost necessitated, by precedent, and that if it did not come off the effect on public opinion would be bad. I added, that I would send Lieutenant Tweedie the next morning to explain further verbally.

The rest of the day I was occupied in reading up various data and information furnished by the Minister for the preparation of my *Deccan Report.*

WEDNESDAY, *October 9th.*—Lieut. Tweedie went to see the Minister, and came back reporting that the Minister thought the Nizám's ill-health so troublesome that the application for an interview ought not to be pressed. I sent Lieut. Tweedie back again to explain that if His Highness should really be precluded by sickness from holding an interview, it could not be helped; but that if His Highness could possibly manage it he should do so, lest exaggerated rumours should get abroad about His Highness's illness and seclusion; adding, that His Highness's father, the late Nizám, deemed it so important to hold an interview with the Resident and the Minister, that he did so once when he was extremely ill. I urged that we would stand on no ceremony; that His Highness could receive us sitting or reclining, or in any way most convenient. Lieut. Tweedie came back with a reply showing that the Minister was at last convinced, and

would again urge the matter on His Highness's attention.

The rest of the day I was occupied in commencing the *Deccan Report.*

THURSDAY, *October* 10*th.*—In the morning I got a letter from the Minister to say that the Nizám was impressed with the considerations about the expediency of holding an interview, and he replied that if his health would permit, he certainly would endeavour to do so next week.

Lieut. Tweedie happened that day to be engaged to breakfast with the Amír Kabír, as a matter of courtesy, and I told him to take occasion quietly to ask the Amír Kabír to try and second the efforts of the Minister, so as to induce the Nizám to hold a reception. Lieut. Tweedie on his return told me that the Amír Kabír seemed thoroughly to appreciate the point, and had promised to use all his influence in the right direction.

During the day I went on writing the *Deccan Report.*

FRIDAY, *October* 11*th.*—In the morning the Shamshér Jang, the Jágírdár of Tándúr came to see me. He is of the family of Shahwáru'ddaula, one of the best in the Deccan. He was of very good manners, but no special knowledge. In the afternoon his relation, the Asghar Jang, the Jágírdár of Chitapur, came to see me. He was a capital specimen of a Muhammadan gentleman, but not much more. I explained to both that I proposed shortly to pass through their *jágírs* on my way to Kulbarga.

I was much occupied during the day in writing the *Deccan Report.*

In the evening Daulat Khán, the Jágírdár of Malkápur, came to see me. He was an ordinary respectable Pathán, of fairly good family.

I dined at Secunderabad and slept at Baláram.

SATURDAY, *October 12th.*—In the morning I looked round the station and town of Baláram and found them clean, and then rode to the General's house at Secunderabad, and was there occupied all day in writing the *Deccan Report.*

In the afternoon I went with General Grant to see the garden house, near the Hussain Ságar Lake, belonging to the Arab chief 'Abdu'llah *bin* 'Alí. He was very old and infirm and could not get out, but his son received us, and showed us about very politely. I noticed some of his men and asked what they did, and he replied that they looked after *ta'lukas.* This sounded odd, and I thought that some day I would ask the Minister about it, because I had understood that by recent reforms the Arab Chiefs had been made to give up all these *ta'lukas,* to the great relief of the ryots.

SUNDAY, *October 13th.*—Aghá Muhammad Shustrí, the President of the Majlis, came to see me, and talked a good deal about the land revenue settlements, which had been ordered some two years previously. It struck me that the progress had been somewhat indifferent, and that the supervision exercised by the Majlis had been rather weak.

'Azim 'Alí Khán, agent of the Mutahavvar Jang,

came to say that his master was representing to His Highness the necessity of receiving the Resident before his departure.

MONDAY, *October* 14*th.*—Amínu'ddín, the Minister's judicial secretary, came to see me and explain to me all about the original constitution of the Courts of Justice under the Muhammadan Government, and the judicial reforms effected by the present Minister. All this I embodied in the draft of the *Deccan Report*, on which I was occupied all day.

In the evening the Minister came to dine with me quietly, and afterwards we went together to a large evening party given by the First Assistant.

I had occasional conversation with the Minister on political matters, during which I found, rather to my surprise and disappointment, that what I observed during my interview with 'Abdu'llah *bin* 'Alí's son in the garden, was but too true in respect of *ta'lukas* being still in several places under Arab Chiefs. 'Abdu'llah *bin* 'Alí had not very many, but the Barak Jang had several *lákhs* worth of country, and several other Dakhaní Muhammadans had small tracts. All these were called *tankhwáh jágírs.* The Minister admitted the abuse which thus existed: A. had to receive Rs. 1,000 pay (*tankhwáh*); instead of receiving this in cash, he took a village estimated to yield Rs. 1,000 annually, and then screwed say Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 extra out of the ryots, or in all Rs. 1,200 or Rs. 1,300. I remonstrated with the Minister as strongly as I could about it, and he promised to put an end to it by

degrees, adding, he thought his master would not object.

He said in the course of conversation that his Government had not raised their land revenue in proportion to the rise of prices and consequent increase of income to the ryots, as the Gáikwár and others had done, and that had he acted like the Gáikwár, he might have obtained an immense increase of revenue.

TUESDAY, *October* 15*th*.—The Minister sent to say that he had sent to the Nizám to inquire when an answer was to be expected about the reception of the Resident, and that His Highness had said he would give a reply by Thursday.

In the afternoon I went, accompanied by General Grant, to see the *bárádarí* or summer-house which once belonged to the Minister Chandú Lál. It was really a very fine place, with extensive grounds and lofty buildings, where the Minister used to entertain former Residents, and other notables, and in this sense it had historical interest. There were two Linewálá Regiments, not Reformed Troops, drawn up to receive us, who presented arms, &c., remarkably well. The place was somewhat dilapidated, and was in the hands of Rájá Nárindar, the Péshkár, or Deputy-Minister, and grandson of the Minister Chandú Lál. The Péshkár was an intelligent but weak man, and did no real work, though he drew a salary of Rs. 10,000 a month. He received us in state on this occasion.

WEDNESDAY, *October* 16*th*.—In the morning Mr. Bowen, the Minister's Private Secretary, came at my

request to take to his master the draft which I had prepared of the *Deccan Report.*

Aghá Muhammad Shustrí came to see me again, to give me information about the land settlements, &c., and he explained all about the arrangements with the *zamíndárs,* the ryots, the *patéls,* the *déshmukhs,* the *pándyas,* and the like. He also told me about the annual settlements; and said that as yet engagements or *kauls* had not actually been given to the ryots, but had only been ordered to be given some two years previously. He said, that although the people had benefited much by the rise of prices, their revenue had been hardly raised at all, and that this was a proof of great moderation.

In the afternoon 'Abdu'l-Karím, the *ta'lukdár* of Nalgúnda, came to take leave before going back to his district, and spoke very much of the excessive delays in sanctioning his proposals for the repairs of tanks, and also for carrying out a summary settlement. He was strongly in favour of the latter measure.

THURSDAY, *October* 17*th.*—Muhammad Shukúr's brother came to see me, to say that the Amír Kabír had urged the Nizám to hold some sort of reception.

The Minister sent a note to say that his *vakíl* had gone to the Nizám for an answer, and had been told to attend at nine o'clock the next day.

Maulaví Amínu'ddín again came to see me, and explained further about the constitution of the Courts of Justice under the old Muhammadan regime. He told me also about the various returns, judicial statis-

tics and the like, which his department received from the Courts which then existed. I urged him to look sharp and clear off arrears, &c.

Chitambar Ráo, the *mansabdár* and future *sadr ta'lukdár*, came with an introduction from the Minister, and said that he had long been employed under the Minister direct; and that he was to accompany me on my tour, according to custom, as *mansabdár* on the part of the Nizám's Government.

FRIDAY, *October* 18*th*.—Muhammad Shukúr's brother came to see me by desire of the Amír Kabír, to say that his master had strongly urged the Nizám to receive the Resident if he possibly could; and that he expected that His Highness would fix the following day, Saturday.

Sheo Lál, a rich *sáhúkár* (native banker), came to see me, and said that the inquiries ordered by the Minister into the outstanding debts of the Government would be tedious and probably protracted.

I expected that the Minister's *vakíl*, who had been instructed to attend at nine o'clock, would return at noon with news of the time fixed for my visit to the Nizám. As he did not come, I sent Lieut. Tweedie to the Minister to inquire, and the Minister replied that the *vakíl* had not yet returned. About three o'clock the answer came, to the effect that His Highness would receive me alone (*jarída*) at 11 A.M. on the following day, the 19th.

Rafík Yáwaru'ddaula came to see me, with his son. He was a Pathán chief, rather too much addicted to

making himself too common in the society of the Cantonment of Secunderabad. Before me, of course, he looked everything that was becoming, and I had him shown over the Residency gardens.

Khandaswámi told me that the Nizám had sent a message inquiring what the Minister's intentions were about the *sadr ta'lukdárs*, and rather complained that the Minister had not kept him informed. I must confess that the Nizám had reason in this, and I had over and over again urged the Minister to get his master's sanction; but he had put it off from day to day.

SATURDAY, *October* 19*th*.—Early in the morning I wrote to the Minister, giving him a compendium of the measures which we had been conversing about at different times lately—to wit, the arrears in the Civil Court of Hyderabad; the bringing up the settlement of the outstanding public debt; the bringing out the orders about the *sadr ta'lukdárs*; and the settlement of the new police department. In the afternoon I got a note from the Minister to say that he entirely agreed, and would see to all these things, and would try to settle them all before my return from tour.

At eleven o'clock I attended, quite alone as requested, at the Nizám's Palace, and was met first by the Mír Munshí, and then by the Amír Kabír, and conducted to the Darbár-room, on which a white cloth was spread, at the edge of which we took off our shoes. Off the Darbár-room was a small chamber called a *hujra*, and we were told that His Highness would receive us

there. As we approached the door of this chamber all the attendants were told to stand back, as the Minister and the Amír Kabír alone were to accompany me.

We walked in, and found His Highness recumbent on pillows, draped gracefully in silks and satins. He was apparently unable to sit up or stand up, and motioned to us three to be seated, and we sat accordingly, Oriental fashion, on the ground.

He began by asking after the health and movements of the Governor-General, which I duly explained. He then spoke of the harvests and the rain, and seemed glad to hear that grain was becoming cheaper all over India. He next asked me when I was going to Berar and when I should return, all of which I explained. Lastly he thanked me for the various bouquets of flowers which had been sent, and which he said were very fine. I then told him in various forms of Persian expression, that I thought it very kind of him to thus hold a reception when he was so ill; that I hoped he would ever regard me as a well-wisher, and that I should on my return find him quite recovered. He said: "Please God this may be the case." Then he signalled for *'atar* and *pán*, and after the usual salutations we withdrew.

The Nizám did not look weak or pulled down, nor exactly in pain, but his face had decidedly the expression of protracted distress and sleeplessness.

The Amír Kabír looked well, and his nephew the Bashíru'ddaula was not present as usual, on account of the death of one of his sons. The Minister, as he

always did on these occasions, looked pale and nervous —more so than usual.

I then returned to the Residency, and shortly afterwards Muhammad Shukúr's brother came to say that the Amír Kabír was pleased with the reception.

In the evening Khandaswámi came to see me, and I asked him why the Minister looked so nervous at the reception. He said because of the doubt which had been let fall as to whether the Nizám would in his present state receive any one save the Resident, and whether His Highness would not direct that the Minister and the Amír Kabír should wait outside.

There was no great crowd in the City as we passed to and fro, because of the heavy rain which poured the whole day.

SUNDAY, *October 20th.*—In the morning Khandaswámi came to see me, and said that at the last interview the Minister believed that the Nizám feared that some draft of a convention was going to be submitted to His Highness—indeed a message had been received enquiring about this. It was, of course, denied.

In the afternoon after church I drove out to Golkonda, and then rode on to Búlkápur, where there was an anicut * across the Músá River.

MONDAY, *October 21st.*—Early in the morning I arrived at a point where I met with Faiz Muhammad in a tent; also Chitambar Ráo, the *mansabdár* who was to accompany me on my tour.

* An anicut is a dam thrown across a river for irrigation purposes; the word is Tamil, *annaikattu.*

TUESDAY, *October 22nd.*—At daybreak I found myself still some ten miles from Chitapur. The roads were heavy and the ground wet, so I mounted a pony, and let the palanquin follow.

WEDNESDAY, *October 23rd.*—An hour before daybreak I started from Chitapur on an elephant, accompanied by the *ta'lukdár*, till we reached a river. I occupied the time in explaining to him the advantages of fixed money settlements with the ryots.

THURSDAY, *October 24th.*—Early in the morning I went from Mr. Brereton's house at Kulbarga to see the site of the old lake.

FRIDAY, *October 25th.*—Early in the morning I left Kulbarga *en route* to Sholapur on horseback.

SATURDAY, *October 26th.*—I spent the day at Sholapur in the Bombay Presidency.

SUNDAY, *October 27th.*—I spent the day at Sholapur, and in the evening I left for Poona by train.

I wrote a letter to the Minister about the *sijjáda-nishín** of Kulbarga.

MONDAY *October 28th.*—I spent the day at Poona in Mr. Mansfield's house, and in the evening I dined with Sir R. (Lord) Napier (of Magdala).

TUESDAY, *October 29th.*—I left by train for Akólá.

WEDNESDAY, *October 30th.*—I reached Akólá at three o'clock.

THURSDAY, *October 31st.*—

FROM FRIDAY, *November 1st*, TO WEDNESDAY, *No-*

* *Sijjáda-nishín* is the controller of a Muhammadan religious endowment

vember 13*th.*—I was touring about in the Berar Province, of which the affairs are civil rather than political.

THURSDAY, *November* 14*th.*—Leaving Básim in Berar in the morning, I marched about twenty miles within Berar limits, and at a village called Bhándígáon, about six miles short of Hingólí, I got into the Párbhaní, or Zila' district, of the Díwání, or Minister's jurisdiction. I was here met by the *ta'lukdár awal* and his people, among whom were the *ta'lukdár doyam* and the *muhtamim-i-kótwálí*, or district police officer, and a number of mounted officials.

FRIDAY, *November* 15*th.*—I spent the day at Hingólí, and early in the morning reviewed the troops of the Contingent stationed there, consisting of a squadron of a Cavalry Regiment, a Battery of Artillery, and a Regiment of Infantry.

SATURDAY, *November* 16*th.*—Early in the morning I marched for Sindagí, half way between Hingólí and Nándáir. The *ta'lukdár awal*, Muhammad Haníf, and the *tahsíldár* of Aundá accompanied me as far as their boundary. The *tahsíldár* was a young man of good Hyderabad family, and, though he promised well, he seemed then to be inexperienced.

SUNDAY, *November* 17*th.*—I spent the day at Nándáir.

MONDAY, *November* 18*th.*—I marched from Nándáir in the early morning for Madnúr.

TUESDAY, *November* 19*th.*—Early in the morning I looked round the town of Madnúr, which belonged to the *jágír* of the Péshkár, whose *náib* seemed to be a

competent and respectable man. The town was fairly clean and well kept, and seemed to have some traffic and to be a small cotton mart.

After that I marched for Kalairú, and on the way I passed through Bíchkóndá, a place of evil fame for Arab outrages in former days. It was then held by the Ghálib Jang. His *náib*, a foxy-looking old Dakhaní Bráhman, and a small party of Arabs, chiefly *mawallads*, met me on the road. It was a walled town, situated close to some rocky hills, consisting chiefly of granitic boulders, with a quantity of fine rice cultivation in the neighbourhood.

After that I crossed a fertile plain till I approached a range of wooded hills. These were the hills of Kaulás, the Rájá of which, a Rájpút, was a feudatory of the Nizám. A river issued from a small gorge in the hills, and at that point his fort and town were built. The road passed at a short distance off it, so that I could not see the position closely; but it seemed to me to be very fine and picturesque. The Rájá was prevented by sickness from coming out himself, but he sent his Díwán, a Muhammadan, with a party of mounted officials to meet me. I then crossed the range, which was thickly covered with small timber trees, by a fair-weather road, which the Rájá's people had made for me, and then came on to an elevated plateau.

Passing by one or two fine tanks I got to Kalairú, where Rahmán Bég, a *ta'lukdár* in the Amír Kabír's service, of the Náráyan Khérá *ta'luká*, was ready to meet

us. The Amír Kabír had sent tents and breakfast there, and I stopped during the heat of the day talking to the *ta'lukdár*, the *déshmukhs*, the *déshpándyas*, and the local officials. The Amír Kabír's *vakíl* Fakhru'ddín, attached to the Residency, was also present. So far as I could see, the *ta'lukdár* appeared a competent man, and to have a pretty good system of administration. The *déshmukhs* and *déshpándyas* also seemed to be fairly good men.

Before reaching Kalairú I passed through one or two villages belonging to the Ghálib Jang, the Arab Jama'dár, and also by a village where the Zamíndár used to hire Rohélas and plunder. He was subdued by a force from the Hyderabad Contingent, and died in prison. His son was still living, and was a respectable landholder and presented himself before me.

In the afternoon I marched for Shankarámpet, where I again met a number of *déshmukhs* and *déshpándyas*, and the *ta'lukdár awal* of the Bidar Zila'.

Between Kalairú and Shankarámpet I passed through a walled village belonging to the Arabs. Shankarámpet is under the Díwání in the District of Bidar.

WEDNESDAY, *November 20th.*—Early in the morning I marched from Shankarámpet for Patancherú, accompanied by the Bidar *ta'lukdár*, a Dakhaní Bráhman of good and intelligent manners. He said he had once been *sarishtadár** to Mr. Maltby, Commissioner of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, and when half those districts were restored his appointment was abolished.

* *I.e.*, Clerk of the Court.

He then got employment under the Minister, and became *sarishtadár* to the Majlis at Hyderabad. Now that the Majlis was being reduced, and *sadr ta'lukdárs* were being appointed, and, again, his *sarishtadárí* was abolished, he had been promoted to be a *ta'lukdár awal.* He was a promising man, and with him was the *ta'lukdár doyam* of Bidar, who was going to act as *ta'lukdár awal* in Raichúr. He was a Dakhaní Muhammadan of respectable family, but was a stupid-looking man.

Conversing with them both I reached Masalapur, the frontier of the Médak District, where we met the *muhtamim,* or superintendent of police of that district—a good looking young Muhammadan. He had just received the Minister's orders with reference to the constitution of the new police department.

THURSDAY, *November* 21*st.*—Accompanied by Khandaswámi I set out at three o'clock in the morning from Patancherú for Baláram, driving in the Minister's carriage. We were met halfway by a *náib* of one of the Sarf-i-Khás *ta'lukas,* a respectable man, and we were joined on the road by 'Azim 'Ali Khán, the deputy of the Sarf-i-Khás *ta'lukdár,* the Mutahavvar Jang.

We reached Baláram by six o'clock, in time to get to the Múl Alí Races. The scene on the race-course was pretty, the great rock of Múl Alí standing up well in the distance, and the ground round being covered by the tents and the camps of the visitors to the races. Among the native visitors I observed the Rashídu'ddaula, the Mír Munshí to the Nizám.

FRIDAY, *November 22nd.*—

SATURDAY, *November 23rd.*—I attended the Múl Alí races early in the morning.

SUNDAY, *November 24th.*—I went into the Residency at Chadarghát to spend the day there.

MONDAY, *November 25th.*—I attended the funeral of the aged Mr. W. Palmer. The occasion was such as to arouse solemn reflections in the minds of those who were able to take a retrospect of his long career !

In the afternoon the Minister came to visit me, and asked me about the state of Berar and about what I had seen of his Díwání districts. I expressed general satisfaction.

I then asked him whether he could attend the races, both at Múl Alí and at Chadarghát. He said that he would be able to attend the Chadarghát races, but that he was afraid that the Nizám would not let him attend those at Múl Alí, and would advert to the promise which he had made in the previous March, to the effect that he would not leave the city of Hyderabad without his master's permission.

TUESDAY, *November 26th,* TO WEDNESDAY, *December 4th.*—

THURSDAY, *December 5th.*—Early in the morning I received a cypher telegram from the Viceroy offering me the Foreign Secretaryship, and authorising me to start at once; but enquiring, in the event of my not being able to do that, when I could start. I replied by cypher telegram accepting the post with thanks, but saying that I could not start for some

three weeks, for reasons which I would explain by post.

I then wrote by post to say that I wished, if possible, to finish the *Deccan Report*, still unfinished, and to help the Minister in certain affairs then pending with the Arab Chiefs. I further wrote to beg that, if possible, I might retain my appointment at Hyderabad substantively until April next.

In the evening I went to Baláram to dinner to meet General Lumsden, Commanding the Hyderabad Contingent.

During the day I heard that the Vikáru'l-Umará was likely to try to bribe some of the Residency servants in order to procure an interview with the Resident. I sent for the principal Residency servants to my study, and warned them seriously to avoid falling into temptation.

Lieut. Tweddie went in the morning to breakfast with the Minister, and to ask him, at my request, whether on the whole he did, or did not, object to my availing myself of the Government permission to receive Khurshéd Jáh. Lieut. Tweedie came back to say that the Minister, so far as his opinion went, was against the measure; and that the Minister was anxious to know what my decision would be. I then wrote to the Minister to say that I should not move further in the matter without his concurrence.

That afternoon Lieut. Tweedie started for Bombay, *en route* for Abyssinia.

FRIDAY, *December 6th.*—I wrote privately to the

Minister to say that the rumours so prevalent about my departure were partly true, and to propose to dine with him the following day and explain verbally.

I got a note from the Minister acknowledging this last note, and also the note about Khurshéd Jáh. He thanked me for what I had said about Khurshéd Jáh, and agreed to my proposal to dine with him the following day.

Faiz Muhammad Khán, the principal *ta'lukdár* of the Vikáru'l-Umará, came to see me, and to bring a regular solicitation from his master to be re-admitted to the Resident's presènce; or, if this could not be done, that his son, Khurshéd Jáh, might be admitted. I told him that under the orders, as they stood, the Vikáru'l-Umará at all events could not be received, and explained that the conduct of his party had been such, in former days, that it was difficult to divest myself of apprehension, and that confidence could only be restored by a long continuation of good conduct.

SATURDAY, *December 7th.*—Early in the morning I sent the First Assistant, Mr. Cordery, to explain to the Minister that my approaching departure rendered the early preparation of the data for the *Deccan Report* necessary. Mr Cordery, on his return, reported that the Minister seemed dejected and bothered at my departure to a degree which he had not anticipated.

During the day I was chiefly busied in the affairs of Berar.

In the evening I went to dine with the Minister

alone, and he seemed much troubled at the prospect of a change of Resident. I explained that I might still be able to help him as Foreign Secretary; and he said that might be, but still, necessarily, he was obliged to look mainly to the Resident for the time being. He asked anxiously about my successor, canvassing the names of various gentlemen who had been mentioned. He asked me if he might tell the Nizám confidentially about my departure, and I said that he might.

He promised me, as soon as possible, the data for the *Deccan Report*, and expressed his satisfaction at the draft chapters he had seen. He repeated his anxiety that it should not be published lest the Nizám should be offended.

I asked him how he was getting on with the Arab business, and he said he had very nearly settled it with the Barak Jang, and that he had not yet got an answer from the Saifu'ddaula. He praised the conduct of the Barak Jang.

In the course of conversation he said that he was getting on well with the determination of the accounts of the native bankers in reference to the old debts of the Nizám's Government; that the arrears of the Civil Courts were being cleared off fast, as they turned out to be chiefly nominal; that the case of the Názim Jang, the corrupt *ta'lukdár* of Khamman, was approaching conclusion, there having been some delay through mismanagement on the part of the Criminal Court.

I asked him about the Vikáru'l-Umará and Khur-

shéd Jáh, and he said that he could not fix any intrigue upon them, but that in little ways they were always showing a personal spite. He added that the Vikáru'l-Umará had the day before sent a rather remarkable message, to the effect that he hoped that he might be re-admitted to the Resident's presence, because, in truth, the *lákh* of rupees bribe which had been given to Mrs. M * * *, was given not by him, but through him, and that the money really was the Nizám's! The Minister seemed to think that this version was not far from the truth! And he thought that if I was unable to receive Vikáru'l-Umará himself, I had better not receive Khurshéd Jáh, the son, either; that if the son were received the father had better be received, too; that either the whole should be done or nothing; and that half-measures would do more harm than good. I told him that I could not, under existing orders, receive the Vikáru'l-Umará, and that he might intimate this to him.

The Minister then spoke of the Nizám, who had been sending unkind messages for some days past, which could not be traced to any particular cause, and were merely of a general character. Their substance was that it was rumoured that the Governor-General was going to send a *kharíta* to say that the Nizám must hold *darbárs* for the reception of the Resident so many times a month; that it was the Minister's fault that there was not a cordial understanding between the British Government and the Nizám; that the Minister was going on as his uncle, the Suráju'l-Mulk, had gone

on before him, and would come to an equally evil end; that the Minister was much too familiar with European officers, and went too much into society; and that the Hyderabad people were crying out for bread. To all this, the substance of the Minister's replies, according to his own account, was that no such *kharíta* was coming to his knowledge, but that it was undoubtedly true that successive Residents had deemed that the Nizám ought, as a sovereign, to show himself more than he did; that so far from the British Government being displeased with the Nizám's Government, it was rather pleased than otherwise; that his uncle had not come to an evil end, but had died in honour, and would have been successful as a Minister had he not been so much thwarted; that he himself did not go into European society more than his predecessors, but only on such occasions as were sanctioned by precedent; that no doubt the Hyderabad people felt the dearness of grain; but, on the other hand, nowadays they had money to buy it with, whereas formerly the people used to perish by scores whenever grain got dear; and now, too, death by starvation was unknown; and that the dearness would have been felt more than it was, had it not been for the reforms which had been carried out in the interest of political economy.

The Minister said that he feared that these replies must have vexed the Nizám, but that it was necessary that His Highness should know the truth now and then. He, however, showed much vexation at these recriminations from his master, and even went so far

as to say that if it went on much further he would resign. I tried to console him, reminding him of his great services to the Deccan and of the satisfaction repeatedly expressed thereat by the British Government. I urged him to be patient and to bear with the Nizám, and I left him about midnight.

SUNDAY, *December 8th.*—I sent a telegram to the Governor-General to know whether my proposal to fix my departure from Hyderabad for about the beginning of January would be approved.

Khandaswámi told me that his master, the Minister, had been sadly put out by the unkind messages from the Nizám; that he expressed fear that some day there would come a regular outbreak between himself and the Nizám, and that his only hope was that, as the British flag waved over him, he would be ultimately safe.

MONDAY, *December 9th.*—Early in the morning I sent the First Assistant to the Minister to say that I proposed to send for the Vikáru'l-Umará's *vakíl,* and tell him exactly how the case stood about his master and Khurshéd Jáh, as being the best means of preventing ill-blood between them and the Minister, and also of preventing any suspicion on their part of the Minister being the cause of their continued exclusion. Mr. Cordery came back saying that the Minister cordially assented; so I then sent for Faiz Muhammad, the Vikáru'l-Umará's *vakíl,* and explained exactly that I had asked Government whether his master's exclusion from the Residency might cease, and had been told that

it must not cease—*i.e.*, I must not receive him; that I had then asked whether I might receive Khurshéd Jáh, and had been told that I might; and that I wished to know whether Khurshéd Jáh would or would not come to me for an interview. He said he would tell his master, and would come to me again the following morning.

I got a telegram from the Governor-General requesting me to ask the Nizám whether he would agree to pay half the Governmental interest on the railway from Kulbarga to Hyderabad.

TUESDAY, *December* 10*th*.—I got a reply from the Governor-General to my telegram of Sunday, saying that I could do as I proposed, but that I must avoid delay as much as possible.

I then wrote to the Minister to ask that the Nizám should receive me if convenient on Thursday, so that I might explain to His Highness about my departure.

I sent for the Amír Kabír's *vakíl*, Fakhru'ddín, and when he came I told him to tell his master about my approaching departure. He seemed really distressed and taken aback at the news.

Faiz Muhammad came and said that the Vikáru'l-Umará hesitated to send his son Khurshéd Jáh, as he could not come himself, and repeated all the arguments for receiving the Vikáru'l-Umará. I told him positively that this latter was out of the question, and that Vikáru'l-Umará could decide for himself about sending Khurshéd Jáh or not.

As regards the telegram from the Governor-General about the Railway, I wrote to the Minister giving

him the heads of the arguments he should put to the Nizám, and suggested that he should make the reference to His Highness immediately after the interview on Thursday was over.

WEDNESDAY, *December* 11*th.*—I received a reply from the Nizám to say that he would receive us the following day at eleven o'clock.

I was much occupied during the day with the *Deccan Report.*

THURSDAY, *December* 12*th.*—Early in the morning Hanmant Ráo, the Minister's head accountant, came to explain to me several points in the Financial Statement in the *Report.*

At eleven o'clock I went to the Nizám. The visit being of a quasi-private character, there was no great crowd to witness me pass along; though, of course, there were a good many people. Near the Nizám's palace I noticed numbers of Arab soldiery lolling and sitting about, staring at us vacantly.

In the Nizám's Palace I found His Highness reclining in a small darkened side room; still unable to stand or sit up.

FRIDAY, *December* 13*th.*—Early in the morning, accompanied by the Mukaramu'ddaula, the Minister's nephew, and by Khandaswámi, I set out, driving in a carriage, for Narkáilpili *en route* to Nalgúnda, in order to see something of the great tank district.

SATURDAY, *December* 14*th.*—Early in the morning I rode with the Mukaramu'ddaula to Nalgúnda, distant about twelve miles.

SUNDAY, *December* 15*th*.—I stayed in camp at Nalgúnda all day.

MONDAY, *December* 16*th*.—Early in the morning I marched back to Narkáilpili.

TUESDAY, *December* 17*th*.—I spent the day at Hyderabad.

WEDNESDAY, *December* 18*th*.—Faiz Muhammad came on the part of the Vikáru'l-Umará to fix a day for my interview with his son Khurshéd Jáh. His master, he said, had decided that, as he could not see the Resident himself, the next best thing was that his son should do so. We arranged that the next morning I should go to the Lingampili Gardens, and that Khurshéd Jáh should meet me there.

THURSDAY, *December* 19*th*.—Early in the morning I went to the Lingampili gardens, a place of some size and beauty, and Khurshéd Jáh received me with considerable state.

FRIDAY, *December* 20*th*.—In the afternoon the Minister came to see me by appointment, and his wish evidently was to talk to me confidentially about his relations with his master, and as to what he should do in the event of his ever becoming unable to bear the difficulties of his position. The substance of his remarks was that he frequently received verbal messages from his master couched in very unkind or even cruel language; that the Nizám attributed, or pretended to attribute, everything done by the British Government, to the Minister; that if the Minister had to propose anything at the Resident's request, and if the Nizám did

not like it, His Highness immediately said that the proposition was at the Minister's instigation; that ill-blood existed still; that some day the Nizám would break out worse, and the Minister's patience would break down under a system of bullying; that, moreover, if the Nizám's remarks were confined to confidential messages, it would not be so bad, but that they were often made before others, and got repeated over the City with every form of distortion and exaggeration. The Minister said that he felt all this acutely, and that if ever it went beyond a certain point, he would rather resign and live on his *jágírs* than stay in office; that he would rather give his office up than keep it with the reproach of his countrymen; but that he had no idea of resigning at present, and that, if he did so at all, he would not break openly with his master, and would endeavour to arrange his resignation amicably, and with the sanction of the British Government; that this is what he would like to do if he could, supposing that the Nizám were to pass a certain limit of unkindness beyond which endurance would be difficult. He added, too, that he feared much for his own credit. Whenever difficulties arose he would do his best; but if anything went wrong, and the Nizám were to take that opportunity of throwing him over, or if the Resident differed with him—in short in a hundred ways,—he would be left without support in the face of his enemies. He said all this quite quietly and earnestly, and that as I was going away, he wished my candid and friendly

opinion as to how he should look the future in the face.

I asked him if he had really reflected how he would like to be out of office, after he had been in power so long. He said he had, and that this was the very thing he wished steadily to contemplate.

I told him I rather doubted whether the Nizám's feelings towards him were so unkind as he supposed; and that His Highness treated other noblemen, for instance, the Shamsu'l-Umará, with the same hauteur and reserve with which he treated the Minister. I said that he should attribute much of the harshness of expression to petulance and to irritation arising from the illness from which His Highness had for months been suffering; and I advised him to bear with the Nizám as much and as long as possible, and on no account to put forward resignation as a threat; but I added, that *in extremis* every Minister should be prepared for the possibility of quitting office. He should do his best for the Nizám, and serve His Highness as long and as well as he could; falling that, he could ultimately retire, and he should always keep his house in order, so that if he did retire he might do so with honour. He should consolidate his Government, so that it should stand hereafter, when he was gone.

I also urged him to try and co-operate in making the young nobility qualified for high command, such as the Mukaramu'ddaula, the Bashíru'ddaula, and Khurshéd Jáh; and that he need never be jealous of them, &c.

After this conversation I took the Minister for a walk in the Residency gardens, and he professed himself much strengthened in mind by what I had said, saying that he would follow the straight course, doing his duty and still trying to please his master, and if the worst came to the worst he could retire.

SATURDAY, *December 21st.*—Early in the morning I received orders from the Governor-General, directing me to be at Calcutta in January. I telegraphed to say that I would leave Hyderabad, so as to be at Madras in time for the steamer which would sail from Madras for Calcutta on the 6th or 7th of January.

SUNDAY, *December 22nd.*—In the evening Khurshéd Jáh came to pay me a return visit at the Residency, attended by a long train of followers. He brought Faiz Muhammad with him, and repeated carefully over again all the arguments on the Vikáru'l-Umará's side, apparently with the hope of getting me to refer once more to the Governor-General by telegraph before I went. This, of course, I declined to do. I then showed Khurshéd Jáh over the house, and took him for a walk in the Residency gardens. He then took leave of me with every expression of regard.

MONDAY, *December 23rd.*—Early in the morning I went to see the country garden of the Arab chief, the Barak Jang, on the Golkonda road, who received me with some state, and had a fine show of Arab soldiers, mostly from Yaman near Aden. I complimented him on the creditable manner in which he had behaved of late towards the Nizám's Government, but the rest of

the conversation turned on the internal troubles then going on in Yaman. I was very favourably impressed with his manner and demeanour.

Khurshéd Jáh's *vakíl* came to see me, and to say how much his master had been pleased with his visit, and I had a large bouquet of flowers given him from the garden to take to his master.

In the afternoon Maulaví 'Abu'l-Halím, the first judge of the Chief Civil Court at Hyderabad (Díwání Buzurg), came to see me on his return from leave. I told him that the character of the Court had fallen considerably during his absence, and that arrears had accrued, and he said that he was fast having them cleared off. He spoke of the want of stamped paper at Hyderabad, and said until this was introduced his Court would never work properly. He attributed much trouble to the want of it, saying that the plaintiffs, having nothing to pay, brought absurd cases forward, or that even if a case was fair, still the plaintiffs having staked nothing in the shape of costs, were careless and dilatory in the prosecution of cases. I told him what the Minister had said on the subject in September last, and advised him to urge the question on the Minister's attention. He seemed an able man.

Rafík Yáwaru'ddaula, the Pathán Chief, came to take leave of me. He remarked emphatically, and whether sincerely or otherwise I cannot say, that his class felt much obliged to me for having enquired after them, and noticed them. He brought with him his son, a fine young man.

DECEMBER, *Tuesday 24th.*—On the 23rd the Minister had sent me a paper from the Nizám referring to the Railway negotiation, and asking various questions about the effect it would have on the country. His Highness expressly stipulated that if any of his relations should fly by Railway into British territory, such person would be given up. Knowing the extreme weight His Highness attached to this, I said that if His Highness liked to make this a condition I would represent it. I also answered the other questions.

In the morning I went, accompanied by Khandaswámi, to see the remains of *anicuts*, or dams, made in the river Músá near Golkonda by the Kutabsháhí kings, with a view of keeping the citadel and town supplied with water, and was much struck with the imposing dimensions of these ruined works. Khandaswámi said that the objection to restoring them would be that the villages belonged to *jágírdárs*, and were somewhat neglected.

It rained in the afternoon, and in the evening I went to a farewell party at the City house of the Amír Kabír. It was well got up—dinner, illuminations, fireworks, *náches*, &c. The Amír Kabír and his nephew, the Bashíru'ddaula, sat down to dinner with us, eating their style of food, while we ate ours.

I asked the Amír Kabír about the Nizám's health, and he said that His Highness would not submit to any operation for fear of inflammation setting in. I asked him about the Railway proposition, and he said that many persons about the Nizám had a great pre-

judice against it, but that His Highness would ultimately agree. He was strong in his expressions of regret at my departure.

CHRISTMAS DAY, WEDNESDAY, *December 25th.*—Early in the morning I had a complimentary visit from the native bankers of Chadarghát, and afterwards attended church there.

In the course of the afternoon Maulaví Ahmad 'Alí, chief judge of the Murafa' 'Adálat, came to see me, and expressed regret at my departure, for the reason, among others, that if I had stayed I might have settled the standing quarrel between the Nizam and the Minister. I asked him how this would be possible; and he said that sooner or later it would have to be settled as to whether the Nizám was to have the upper hand or the Minister. I suggested that the Minister did, in fact, obey the Nizám; but he said that the Nizám was of a different opinion. I asked, "How?" He said that the Nizám considered that the Minister had been disobedient in refusing to acquiesce in the appointment of the Lashkar Jang. I replied that this matter had been settled in Sir G. Yule's time, and that it must be reckoned among the bygones; but I understood him to say that it still rankled in the Nizám's mind. I also gathered that he, the Maulaví, thought the Minister disobedient to the Nizám; and I then explained in general terms the reasons why the Sálár Jang was considered to have rendered such services to the country. This Maulaví was supposed to be an enemy to the Minister, and, though he was cautious and guarded,

still I could see that he wished to sound me, and see whether I could be induced to give my support to those who sided against the Minister.

Another judge of the same Court came to see me.

Hammant Ráo, the Minister's head accountant, also came to see me, and on going away he begged me to lay my hand on his head in token of my approval, and I did so!

In the evening there came all sorts of Christmas offerings in the shape of fruit and cakes from the Nizám and the principal nobles.

THURSDAY, *December 26th.*—Early in the morning Khandaswámi came to tell me that the Minister had received various interpellations from the Nizám about the Railway business, and that His Highness seemed to be in a cross humour, and would not discuss the subject at all. The Minister wished to know whether His Highness should be further pressed on the subject, and I said not; adding that His Highness must be left to reply negatively or affirmatively, just as he liked, and that all I should ask would be that His Highness should favour me with some reply, yes or no, before I left. Shortly after, I got a note from the Minister stating His Highness had rather questioned the propositions we had laid down regarding the increase of revenue and prosperity, on which further explanation had been offered. I again wrote saying that I had nothing further to say, save that I hoped that His Highness would let me have a reply one way or other.

After breakfast I attended the giving away of the annual prizes at the School for European children at Chadarghát.

Mr. Keay, of the Bombay Bank, called on me to explain about a proposal that had once been made to make over the Hyderabad Treasury to the Bank, observing that if the principle had been adopted in British Territory, *a fortiori*, it was desirable at a place like Hyderabad, where the Government had monthly to raise in the local market large sums of money for the pay of the troops, giving repayment by bills on Calcutta, &c.

In the evening I attended a farewell party at the Minister's, given by the Nizám's Government. The house and grounds were brilliantly illuminated, and upwards of a hundred guests were present. After dinner there was a really lovely display of fireworks. Many of the principal people of the Minister's Government came in during the course of the evening, and the whole affair was managed in a first-rate, indeed, in a splendid style. Four strangers from Bombay, my guests, were present: Mr. Chatfield, Principal of the Elphinstone College; Mr. Kennard, a traveller from England; M. Thénon, the French Consul at Bombay; and M. Müller of the French Bank at Bombay. They were all much surprised and delighted at the spectacle of the evening.

During dinner time there came a message from the Nizám, saying that he would give an answer to the question about the Railway. The Minister said that

he thought His Highness would be anxious to retain his police jurisdiction over the Railway unimpaired; also that there was a sort of superstitious belief among many classes to the effect that the Railway was the forerunner of undefined evil.

I spoke to him as to the political aspect of Mr. Keay's proposition about a government bank taking the treasury.

FRIDAY, *December 27th.*—Khandaswámi told me that the messages from the Nizám to the Minister had been couched in the harshest terms, and among other things His Highness had said sarcastically that the Minister was descended from British ancestors! ("*in ke auládmen se hai*"). Shortly afterwards a message came from His Highness, saying that the Minister must excuse unkind language, and that His Highness's ill-health had made him peevish and irritable!

Faiz Muhammad came to see me, and said that Khurshéd Jáh was anxious that I should dine with him in the City. I rather objected, on the ground that as his house was almost in the same enclosure as that of his father, the Vikáru'l-Umará, my doing so might be regarded by the people as virtually visiting the Vikáru'l-Umará. I promised, however, to give an answer on the following day.

The Shamshér Jang, a *jágírdár*, came to pay me a farewell visit.

In the afternoon I went with a party of friends for a sail in the steamer on the Amír 'Alam Lake.

SATURDAY, *December 28th.*—Khandaswámi told me

that the Minister had felt much consoled by the gracious, apologetic message received the day before from the Nizám.

'Azim 'Alí Khán came to see me, and spoke about the real idiosyncrasy of the Minister, whom he described as being as smooth as water apparently, but still so persistent, that, like water, wearing away rocks or undermining hills, and still remaining soft and smooth, he would beat down opposition. He said that if the Minister would really resign, it would be soon seen that there were plenty of men in Hyderabad to take up the reins. I asked him then, whether the Bashíru'-ddaula, or Khurshéd Jáh would do. He said, no. I then said, in that case a Minister of some lesser status socially would have to be accepted. He said, "What did that matter?" The present Minister had begun as Turáb 'Alí, and had ended in being, Sir Sálár Jang. I said, "Hardly that, inasmuch as the Sálár Jang was the nephew of one Minister, the Suráju'l-Mulk, the grandson of a second, the Muníru'l-Mulk, and the great grandson of a third, the Mír 'Alam, and therefore must be considered to have great social status." He said that, be that as it might, the Nizám was always thinking of how to get rid of the Sálár Jang. I could further gather from him that there were constant intrigues going on with this view, probably aided by the Mámá Ramazání and other ladies of the Palace, and more or less backed by many of the Sarf-i-Khás *ta'lukdárs*.

In the afternoon I went to show my guests the

Makka Mosque in the city, and passing by the Minister's stables on our way home, we walked in there. The Minister came to meet us there, and I asked him about the last message from the Nizám. He said that among other things His Highness said that he and the Minister ought to pull together, and that the Minister ought to think of the welfare of the sovereign and the State.

In the morning I had sent the First Assistant to the Minister to ascertain whether or not the City people would regard my going to dine with Khurshéd Jáh as virtually visiting the Vikáru'l-Umará. He said they would, and I then sent for Faiz Muhammad, and told him that, on the whole, I thought I could not go.

In the evening I attended a farewell party at Khandaswámi's house, which was a brilliant affair.

SUNDAY, *December 29th.*—During the day three Arab Jama'dárs, the Ghálib Jang, the Barak Jang, and the Mukadam Jang came to see me as a farewell. They came in imposing state, and with really a fine lot of picked Arab troops: fine men, well armed and set up. I exhorted them that, as being Deccan-born Arabs, they should be well-wishers of the Nizám's Government of the Deccan, and that they should keep their men in discipline, and support the cause of order generally. They said they would do so, and that there was already much improvement perceptible in the demeanour of the Hyderabad Arabs.

The Asghar Jang, the *jágírdár*, came to see me. He was of the Shahwáru'l-Mulk family, and one of the

first nobles of Hyderabad. I admonished him about a row which had lately happened in one of his villages.

Several Pathán Jama'dárs of Cavalry in the Nizám's horse came to see me, and the usual complimentary coversation was interchanged.

MONDAY, *December 30th.*—Early in the morning I heard from the Minister that the Nizám would not fix the day for the *darbár.*

A *maulaví*, a native of Berar, came to see me, and said that he had heard that the Hyderabad Courts had been brushed up lately, which he said was much wanted. He had had cases before them, and thought the judges lazy.

After breakfast the Mutahavvar Jang came to see me. Among other things I asked why the Nizám had hesitated about the Railway, and he repeated the argument about His Highness's relatives running away by rail. He said, too, that His Highness had been afraid about so much land being taken up, and then went on to say that His Highness was afraid that the existence of the Railway would give His Highness's enemies increased facilities for approaching Hyderabad. I asked him further what this meant, but he would not say. Evidently, however, it did refer to the apprehension that the rail would increase the British power, and give it increased means of overawing Hyderabad. That this much should have been admitted by him was perhaps remarkable.

I asked him why the Nizám disliked the Minister; and he said point blank that the reason was that the

Minister had introduced a system of Government formed on the English model, or at all events, quite new; whereas there was an old (*kadím*) system, which answered well enough, and was approved by the Nizám. It was the innovations that the Nizám disliked. At present the Government was neither one thing nor the other. The English system might do; but would not the old Mughaláí system do also? Could not the Mughaláí people manage in their own way? Did not the Ruknu'ddaula,* the 'Arastú Jáh, and the Mír 'Alam manage well? To this I replied that it depended on what is meant by the *kadím* system. If it meant the system, which had existed under Chandú Lál, then I denied that that was the *old* system; if districts were to be let out in farm to Arabs and others, and if that and other flagrant abuses were to be continued, then that would be a recent rather than an ancient custom. Those who talked about re-introducing the *kadím* system wished to restore the above, which was really a vicious and modern one. The reformed system was a much nearer approach to the *old* system of the Mughal Emperors. The so-called English system was in many respects copied from the Mughal original; and that the Mughal people certainly could not manage for themselves, if they stuck to the ways which were followed in Chandú Lál's time. Perhaps the first of the Ministers

* This nobleman was twice minister; as Sayyid Lashkar Khán from 1752 to 1755, and as the Ruknu'ddaula from 1765 to 1775, when he was assassinated. The others are noticed in the introduction.

mentioned, the Ruknu'ddaula might have managed well, but even in the 'Arastú Jáh's time abuses began. The same also could be said of Mír 'Alam's time; and I begged him to think well over the replies given to his argument.

Adverting to the benefits secured to the State by the present Minister, I alluded to the increase of revenue, and he said this was due to increase of prices, rather than to good Government.

The conversation then turned on the sort of interference which the British Government might exercise in the affairs of the Deccan, and he said that if any internal evils became such as to affect British interests, the British Government could properly interfere; but that if such evils only affected the Nizám himself, or his subjects, then the British Government had no power, under the Treaties to interfere.

Shortly after that, the Amír Kabír and his nephew the Bashíru'ddaula paid me a visit. His manner was much stronger and less marked by physical weakness than on previous occasions. He said emphatically that he had advised the Nizám to agree to the Railway proposal,—to give *parwánagí*, as he phrased it. I thanked him for all he had done on this and previous occasions, and expressed my best wishes for his welfare.

When he had gone I shortly afterwards got a note from the Minister to say that the Nizám had given a favourable answer to the Railway proposal, and forwarded certain papers therewith. He said also that His Highness fixed Wednesday for the farewell *darbár*.

Faiz Muhammad came to say, that as I could not dine

at Khurshéd Jáh's house in the City, would I breakfast there? This seemed strange persistency after my previous refusal, and I explained that time did not admit.

In the evening I went to Baláram, to a farewell dinner party given me by the officers of the Contingent.

TUESDAY, *December* 31*st*.—I spent the day at Baláram.

Early in the morning I reviewed the 3rd Regiment Hyderabad Cavalry for the last time, and after the review I said a few words of farewell to the Native Officers. M. Thénon, the French Consul, was present.

During the day I got the Minister's official reply about the Railway, and I prepared my despatch reporting the successful issue to the Governor-General.

In the afternoon I drove over to Trimalgiri to witness the New Year's Games of the 21st Royal North British Fusiliers. After dinner I attended a soldiers' ball in the barracks, and returned to Hyderabad about midnight.

During the afternoon I showed some gentlemen over the prison at Trimalgiri.

WEDNESDAY, *January* 1*st*, 1868.—At the usual hour I proceeded to take my final leave of the Nizám, and, as arranged, I went quite alone.

Passing through the City I thought the people seemed quite alive to the occasion, as for two miles the streets were lined with spectators, and the salutations were endless. I had never seen the people looking so well dressed, or so respectful. I rode on the elephant through the Court-yard in the usual way, and was ushered by

the Minister and the Amír Kabír into a small darkened room as before, where the Nizám was reclining. After I had sat down, His Highness beckoned to the Minister and to the Amír Kabír to be seated.

His Highness began as usual with asking after the Governor-General. He then went on to express regret at my departure, saying that he would have been particularly glad if I could have remained at his Court, and then he asked about my successor. I said that my successor was not yet nominated, and I then went on to say that I was very sorry to quit the Hyderabad Court; that I was much impressed with the kindness and consideration I had received there; that the phrase used in the Resident's despatches wherein he described himself as "an undoubted well-wisher" (*khairkhwáh bilá ishtibá*), was not to be regarded as an empty form, but as a reality (*hakíkat*), and His Highness might understand that I was a real well-wisher; I should continue to be so, though stationed at a distance; and also that His Highness might believe I was very well pleased with all my intercourse with him. He again repeated his expressions of regret at my departure, adding that he was sorry to have been obliged to receive me in private instead of in public, and that the state of his health prevented his holding a public *darbár*; but that he hoped soon to get better, and would then hold *darbárs* as before. He begged that I would explain this to the Governor-General; and finished by sending his best compliments to His Excellency.

After the *darbár* I wished the Amír Kabír and others

good-bye, and then went back to the Residency. The crowd still watched the *cortége* on its way back. The day was bright, and I had never seen Hyderabad look so well.

At two o'clock the Minister came by appointment, and we talked over the Railway project. He seemed to consider that in my farewell expressions to the Nizám I had used courtly Persian, which was much appreciated by His Highness.

THURSDAY, *January 2nd.*—During the day I was occupied in finishing up all sorts of public business, and in preparing for departure.

In the evening the Sálár Jang came to dine with me alone at the Residency. The occasion was not a cheerful one, and after dinner I embraced him cordially, after the Oriental fashion, at the head of the great flight of steps, and he drove away.

FRIDAY, *January 3rd.*—At sunrise I started, *en route* for Calcutta, to assume the Foreign Secretaryship.

Khandaswámi came from the Minister to accompany me for the first stage out, and remarked that it was a melancholy duty.

DIARIES OF TRAVEL

IN

JAMMÚN AND KASHMÍR

IN 1859 AND 1871.

INTRODUCTION.

UNLIKE the former journal, which referred to political matters concerning the whole of the dominions of the Nizám of the Deccan, so far as these are administered by his own Government, this portion of the work relates to travels in only a part of the wide possessions of the Mahárájá of Jammún and Kashmír. His double title is characteristic of his country, which is really a political agglomeration of mountain tracts that have little connection otherwise with each other. In the Panjáb he is always known as the Mahárájá of Jammún, the *n* having a nasal sound, and to the English as the Mahárájá of Kashmír. He is, however, lord of various territories besides, divided mainly into those of Gilgit, Baltistán or Little Tibet, and Ladákh, called collectively the Outlying Provinces, occupying geographically a wide and important area.

From the map hereto attached it will be seen that his whole Southern Frontier, bounding the province of Jammún, and a small portion of Ladákh, abuts practically on British India; his Eastern, all in Ladákh, on Chinese Tibet, and the Chinese Empire proper; his Northern, made up of the three Outlying Provinces, on Eastern Turkistán; and his Western, consisting of Gilgit, Kashmír, and Jammún, chiefly on the lands of the wild tribes of the Hindú Kúsh. It will be seen, therefore, that when Englishmen and English travellers speak of Kashmír, that word has two meanings:—the Valley of Kashmír proper, the largest of its kind in the Himálayas it is true, but still the smallest division of the Mahárájá's Territories; and the extended tracts over which he rules. In this volume the term is applied in the strict and limited sense proper to it, unless it is clear from the context that the wider signification is intended.

The two journals which these remarks are to introduce, were kept respectively in 1859 and 1871, during short periods of travel into Kashmír through Jammún by what are known as the Bhimbar or Pír Pantsál,* and the Bánihál routes. To these is added a memorandum originally contained in a letter to Lord Lytton, under date 30th September, 1876, stating what could be seen in a week's visit to the Kashmír Valley *viâ* the Bánihál Pass. As there are naturally many references

* This word is usually written and pronounced Panjál by Europeans, but it is *always* Pantsál to the Kashmíris, and hence it is so written in this volume.

in the succeeding pages to the topography, history, geography, ethnology, and so on of the country passed through during these journeys up and down Kashmír, it will be necessary here to give a short general description of it, as it was during the period 1859-1871.

Physically the territories under the Jammún and Kashmír Government, estimated to contain 68,000 square miles, can be looked at from several aspects; but perhaps the best general bird's eye views of the whole country are those given by Mr. Drew. He first divides it into elevations, wherein the variety is enormous,—from 1,000 to 28,000 feet. The lowest portion is the plain to the south-west in the Jammún Province, and known as the Dáman-i-Koh, or Skirt of the Hills, which is really a continuation of the great plain of the Panjáb. Keeping to Jammún, we next come to the region of the Outer Hills, occupying a definite line, and beginning with a ridge about 2,000 to 3,000 feet, followed by a rugged country, chiefly consisting of ridges running pretty nearly parallel to the first, with long narrow valleys between them, and reaching a height of about 4,000 feet. Next comes the region which Mr. Drew calls the Middle Mountains, reaching to 10,000 feet, with ramifying valleys as low as 2,500, and spreading from the lower gorges of the Kishngangá and the Jhélam Rivers on the west, past Púnchh, Rájaurí, Búdil and Bátal to Bhadrawáh in the east. Then rise the lofty mountain ranges which encircle the Vale of Kashmír, the average level of which is itself as much as

5,000 feet and more. The summits of these magnificent mountains reach from rocky snow-clad heights 15,000 feet, to the eternal snows of Nanga Parbat on the north-west 27,000; of Nun Kun, or Mír and Sír, 23,000, in the east; and of the heights of Kishtwár, 19,000, in the south-east. This splendid mountain system forms the catchment area of the Rivers Chináb and Jhélam, treating the Kishngangá as a tributary of the latter. We now reach the drainage of the Upper Indus with its great tributaries the Zánskár and the Shayók. a land of mighty mountains, comprising Ladákh, Baltistán, and Gilgit, the whole of which is at a very high level, the peaks ranging from 17,000 to 22,000 feet and upwards; one, indeed, K2 of the Trigonometical Survey, reaching to 28,000, and being thus one of the highest mountains in the world. The valleys, however, vary a great deal, from wide flat depressions in the south-east, at 15,000 feet, to deep narrow gorges in the north-west, as low as 5,000. There are also some table lands, or rather upland plains, in this region at great heights, such as the Déosai Plateau, at 13,000 feet, and the Linzhítang and Kuenlun Plains, at 16,000 and 17,000.

It is clear that such differences in level must cause an immense variety of climate, which indeed ranges from tropical heat to the cold of perpetual snow, causing men in some parts to go almost naked, and in others to be heavily clad in skins. The atmosphere is further greatly affected by the very varying humidity of the different parts, dependent greatly on altitude, which literally divides the country into regions of climate, and

affects its outward aspect more than any other physical condition. Thus in the Outer Hills and Middle Mountains periodical rains prevail and much moisture; in Kashmír, both valley and surrounding mountains, the rainfall is sufficient though not periodical; but in Astór and parts of Baltistán and Gilgit forest is scanty, the hill sides almost bare, and the crops require irrigation; while in Ladákh and most of Gilgit and Baltistán the earth is nearly rainless, the whole country barren, and nothing can be grown without irrigation.

Such a land is likely to be peopled by several descriptions of the human race, and the subjects of the Mahárájá of Jammún and Kashmír, vary almost as much as the climate of his territories. They are separated from each other sometimes by actual difference of origin, and sometimes by divergent characteristics, though springing from the same stock. Roughly there are of Aryan stock—Dógrás, Chibálís, Paháris, Kashmírís and Dárds; and of Turanian stock—Baltís, Ladákhís and Chámpás, all of the Tibetan family.

The Dógrás are the present ruling race, and are Hindús, claiming, as is the habit among dominant Hindús of North India and the Himálayas, a Rájput descent. They occupy, however, only a small portion of the plain and Outer Hills of Jammún to the south-east, roughly from Bhimbar to Basólí and south of Bhadrawáh. The Chibálís are practically Muhammadan Dógrás, differing from them to the extent that Musalmáns always differ from Hindús in India. They occupy all the frontiers east and south, and principally the lower

ranges from Shardí on the Kishngangá round to Bhimbar The Paháris are the inhabitants of Kishtwár and Bhadrawáh, and are Hindús in the main, while their congeners, the Kashmírís, occupy Kashmír and the immediately surrounding mountains, overflowing in patches into Jammún to the south and northwards among the Dárds. They are nearly all Muhammadans. The Dárds who, distinctly belong to the type of the Hindú Kúsh tribes, and like the bulk of them are Muhammadans, occupy the habitable country between Kashmír and the Upper Indus Valley immediately north of Kashmír, together with Astór and Gilgit; while what is capable of sustaining human life to the north and east of them in Baltistán is the land of the Baltís, a Muhammadan race of Tibetan origin. We now come to Ladákh proper, peopled as far as is physically possible by Ladákhís, except in the south-east, where the nomad Chámpás wander in the upland valleys of Rupshú. Both of these last are Tibetan Buddhists. The north-east of Ladákh, *i.e.* the Linzhítang and Kuenlun Plains, are practically uninhabited.

In appearance these races vary greatly. The Dógrá-Chibálí is slightly built and well-looking. The Pahárí-Kashmírí is large and stoutly-built, with a fine caste of countenance; the former division hardy, and the latter robust, but wanting in courage. The Dárds cannot be called a handsome, though they are a powerfully made people, exceptionally hardy, and well knit together. The Baltís, the Ladákhís, and the Chámpás are of the regular thickset Tibetan type; the Chámpás being the

most, and the Baltís,—apparently by becoming Muhammadans,—the least like the real Tibetans. It is needless to remark that the languages and the characteristics of these peoples differ as much as their personal appearance.

Such being, shortly, the general view of the motley inhabitants of the Mahárájá's dominions, it is sufficient to remark here that the people met with by the writer of these journals were, from Bhimbar to the Pír Pantsál Pass the Chibálís, while from Jammún to Udhampúr on the Bánihál Route they were Dógrás, and thence onward to the Bánihál Pass Paháris. Beyond both the Pír Pantsál and the Bánihál Passes and throughout Kashmír they were all Kashmírís. These three races, therefore, deserve a more extended notice here.

The Dógrás in their own home appear as a distinct race of the ordinary Indian type, and are divided off into castes, such as one would consequently expect to find, from Bráhmans down to the outcaste Dúms. These castes are Bráhmans (priests), Rájpúts (rulers and soldiers), Khatrís (writers and merchants), Thakars (who are not, of course, Thákurs), and Jats (farmers), Baniyas and Kirárs (small traders), Náís (barbers), Jíúrs (carriers), Dhiyárs (smiths), Méghs and Dúms (low castes and scavengers). The mere enumeration of these "castes" and their titles will suffice to show that the Dógrá body politic in the hills differs in no way from that of the Panjábís in the plains, so far as these last are Hindús and not Sikhs or Muhammadans. The Chibálís, evidently essentially the same people as the Dógrás, are Muhammadanized Hindús of a type common to all

the Panjáb, especially in the hilly parts of the North. Physically the Dógrás are slim, high shouldered, and weak on their legs, but wiry and enduring; of comparatively fair complexion and good intelligent features. In general character, excepting those about or connected with the Court, they are simple and childlike, conceited, tractable if properly led, though otherwise obstinate, avaricious and close-fisted, but faithful in service. As rulers they are wanting in tact and sympathy, and are therefore disliked; but they possess the patience, courage, and endurance necessary to control the many aliens subject to them. The main apparent difference between them and the Chibálís is that caused by the "get-up" due to religious distinctions. Among the latter, too, are included miscellaneous hill Muhammadans, such as the Kakká-Bambás, of the lower Jhélam valleys, the Gakkhars about Kótlí, and the Maliks of Darhál, who have slightly variant but marked characteristics of their own. Just as is the case in the Panjáb Himálayas, all these last belong to what are called the Sáhús, *i.e.*, the upper classes of the hill peoples converted to Islám.

The Paháris are the inhabitants of the Middle Mountains of Kishtwár and Bhadrawáh, including Búdil and Bátal, that have remained Hindú. Their name, of course, means "Mountaineer," but it is restricted locally to that particular race. They are strong and hardy, of a good, powerful and active frame, well-formed face, and remarkably hooked nose. Their castes assimilate to those of the Dógrás; the Thakars, or peasant farmers predominating. Among these people, and apparently

closely connected with them, are to be found the Gaddís, wandering Hindú shepherds common to all the western Himálayas; and also the Gújars, Muhammadan buffalo- and cow-herds, whose characteristics are the same as in the Panjáb and North-west India generally.

The Kashmírís, if we except the weakly shawl-makers, are one of the finest races physically in all India; robust, broad-shouldered, muscular, and well-featured, but of not more than middle height as a rule. In character they are credited with exceptional cowardice, and the concomitants of this failing—lying and deceitfulness, wrangling and weeping on occasion. But they are intellectually superior to all their neighbours, talkative and cheerful. They are divided into Hindús or Pandits,—which term in Kashmír does not by any means imply Brahmanical rank—and Muhammadans, the latter forming six-sevenths of the population.

The large and important class of boatmen is, of all those inhabiting Kashmír, that best known to European travellers, because the great highways of the country are the Jhélam River, the canals, and the lakes. They are called Hánjís and possess alike the best and worst traits of the Kashmírís. Powerful, well-developed, and exceedingly skilful in the management of their boats, their cowardice in a storm on one of their lakes is a source of danger to themselves and their passengers. Good-humoured, energetic and versatile, they will yet lie with extraordinary readiness, and are greedy and importunate to a degree.

The Kashmirí Muhammadans are split up into some

twenty tribes or classes, of which the most important are the Chaks, originally the warrior class, the Maliks, and the Bats. The chief religionists are the Ríshís, who seem to be celibate monks of a type not uncommon in the East, but are nevertheless, as a class, peculiar to Kashmír. The shawl-weavers, too, are Muhammadans, and form a numerous and withal a miserable class, badly paid, badly nourished and badly housed, and therefore physically and morally wretched. The Hindús are, as usual, infinitely subdivided; but by occupation they are —firstly, priests, secondly, astrologers, and thirdly, writers, merchants, and farmers. In addition to these there are a few principal outside tribes, such as the neatherds who are Panjábí immigrants, the shepherds, the horse-keepers who were also at one time the chief marauders and highwaymen, the Dams who are police and watchmen, the Argauns or half-breeds between Kashmírís and the Tibetan races, and the Bátals, a low, outcaste, and probably indigenous people, who do the dirty work of the country, and supply the dancing girls of Northern India with many a recruit.

With reference to the Kashmírís there is one striking and peculiar habit of theirs in the winter, alluded to in the journals, and deserving therefore some notice here. Every Kashmírí in the winter, asleep or awake, at work or play, sitting or walking, has under his long loose garment, the *phéran*, a portable brazier or *kángar*, known to Europeans always as the *kángrí*. It consists of an open earthen vessel, enclosed in wickerwork and filled with live charcoal, and is held over the stomach and loins.

This is naturally a dangerous practice, and as a matter of fact there is hardly a Kashmírí in existence that has not been more or less severely burnt in consequence of it. Despite its common use in Kashmír, it is believed to have been introduced there so late as the Mughal times, and it bears a common family likeness to the various braziers and hand-warmers of Europe, so much in favour during the Middle Ages.

At the time under consideration, the population of the Mahárájá's territories amounted to a million and a half, of whom 20,000 were Buddhists, while the Muhammadans out-numbered the Hindús in the proportion of three to two. The inhabitants were distributed thus: —900,000 in Jammún, 500,000 in Kashmír, and 100,000 in Ladákh, Baltistán and Gilgit. Only in Jammún did the Hindús exceed the Muhammadans in number, and then as three to two, but in Kashmír the Hindús formed but one-seventh of the population, and in the Outlying Provinces their numbers were insignificant. The City of Srínagar had 132,000 inhabitants, absorbing more than one-fourth of the whole population of the Kashmír Valley, and in it the Muhammadans more than doubled the Hindús.

It is now necessary to explain shortly, in order to render the diaries clear, something further as to the regions actually traversed, viz., the Outer Hills and Middle Mountains of Jammún; the mountains surrounding Kashmír, especially those enclosing the south side of it crossed by the Pír Pantsál and Bánihál Passes; and lastly, the Valley itself.

On entering the Mahárájá's territories the traveller is still in the plains of the Panjáb, and the country has all the appearance of the submontane tracts of the Western Himálayas; dull and bare when the crops are off the ground, hard and dried up in the summer heats, bright and agreeable during the spring and autumn harvest seasons, verdant in the rains, and dotted over with villages and the scrubby foliage of the Panjáb. In the spring the air is clear, and the views of the great mountains distinct and far-reaching. This plain tract of Jammún is called Kandí, or the Edging, by the natives, for which Dáman-i-Koh is of course a Persianized expression; and that between the Outer Hills and the Middle Mountains *par excellence* Pahár, or the Hills. The Outer Hills form really part of what are called elsewhere the Siwáliks—that long chain of low hills running for 1,300 miles along the foot of the great Himálayas. Their width here varies from 14 to 36 miles.

The Kandí tract, though closer to the hills is drier than the submontane districts further distant, a condition chiefly due to the presence of many and deep ravines drained by flood streams from the mountains, and a light soil, which causes an entire absence of that swampy fringe well-known in the Eastern Himálayas as the Tarái. The surface is on the whole arid, and the yield of the crops uncertain; but much jungle grass or *khar* is found. The rivers traversing that part of it which now concerns us are the Taví, the Chináb, and the Mínáwar Taví. The Taví rises at the back of the Outer Hills, and after a course of 80 miles, liable to severe

and sudden floods, flows past Jammún Town on the outermost hill of the range, and soon afterwards joins the Chináb. The Mínáwar Taví rises similarly in the Ratan Pantsál range behind Rájaurí, and after passing Mínáwar runs into the Chináb, not far below its sister of the left bank. The Chináb, by the time it debouches on the plains at Aknúr is already a mighty river, breaking into several channels, which create a fertile area in its immediate neighbourhood; but the country between Bhimbar and Mínáwar is rather drier than that more to the east, Bhimbar itself being on a plain cut up in all directions by ravines such as those above described.

To the east of the Chináb as far as the Ráví there runs a line of stony hills, reaching to 2,000 feet in gentle slopes, and covered with a low forest of acacias. This comes to an abrupt termination on its northern side, and then follows about as wild, stony and tangled a mass of bare sandstone hills and ravines as can well be imagined, and exceedingly rough to traverse. Passing these, a flat valley or *dún* about four miles wide is reached, the northern side of which is bounded by the outer range of the Middle Mountains. To the west of the Chináb, the country bears something of the same characteristics, till the traveller is past the Mínáwar Taví, when in the neighbourhood of Bhimbar, and between it and Naushahra, are several lines of bold parallel ridges, commonly between 3,000 and 4,000 feet high, and divided by narrow and broken-hollows.

In this region the climate is much that of the

Northern Panjáb; hot in April to June, then wet till September, and cold for the rest of the year; but the night temperature is somewhat lower in the hot weather than is the case in the Panjáb plains generally. The unhealthy season is during the months after the cessation, or partial cessation, of the rains, *i.e.*, August, September and October, when much fever prevails of a severer type than that which is apt to break out below at the same season. The vegetation is of the usual Panjáb type, with acacia and *ber* (*zizypha jujuba*) forest, and a good deal of *euphorbia* scrub in the further hills; and also trees of the banyan, *pípal*, mango, bamboo, and phœnix palm, and along the streams oleander bushes. Between 3,000 and 4,000 feet, there is a good deal of the *pinus longifolia*, the well-known *chíl* pine. The Spring crops are wheat and barley; and in the Autumn are harvested maize, millet and rice. Plantains and sugar cane are also grown.

A line run roughly through Basólí, Rámnagar, Riásí and Rájaurí, and thence through Púnchh to Muzaffarábád, will give the southern boundaries of the Middle Mountain region, which extends northwards from this to the lofty ranges, including thus the tracts of Bhadrawáh and Kishtwár, and having as its northern boundary the Pantsál mountains. This region varies from 40 miles in width north of Basólí to as little as 10 miles at Rájaurí, and consists of a mass of mountains, split up in all directions by ravines and narrow valleys, and destitute of flat spaces. The mountains range up to as high as 12,000 feet in peaks, and the average valley level is

4,000 feet. The vegetation is therefore temperate in its character, and the forest consists of Himálayan oak, spruce, silver fir and deodar cedar. The cultivation, which is everywhere carried on where possible, is dependent chiefly on the level above the sea. The usual double harvests of India are, however, only obtainable in the lowest valleys, and the land has generally to be reserved for one harvest in each year, though as usual wheat and barley are cut in the Spring, and maize and millet in the Autumn. Snow falls everywhere, melting as it falls in the valleys, but lying on the hill slopes for as long as five months in the higher parts.

In order to understand how the wide depression of the Kashmír Valley is surrounded by lofty ranges, and the relation of these to each other, it is necessary to somewhat closely follow the map, and the best way to view the question generally is to treat the valley and its surroundings as the catchment area of the Jhélam and its tributaries. Commencing then from the north-west corner at the magnificent pile of Nanga Parbat, and following the watersheds, *i.e.*, the ranges which divide the streams falling into the Indus from those joining the Jhélam, eastwards towards Tilél and Súrú, we reach Nun Kun, the lofty south-east boundary of what we may call the main chain. The tortuous line thus followed can be easily traced by the colours differentiating Kashmír Proper from the Outlying Provinces. From this main chain there trends to the north and west from near Sónamarg a clearly defined and lesser, though still splendid, range of mountains, including Harmukh,

17,000 feet, which form the actual north-west boundary of the Valley as far round as Báramúla, and separates the basin of the Jhélam from that of its tributary the Kishngangá. Again, somewhat to the east of Sónamarg there trends from the main chain southwards as far as the Bánihál Pass another clearly defined range, which then turns sharply to the west, again as far as Báramúla. This line can also be easily followed by the colours separating the Kashmír from the Jammún Territories; and beyond Bánihál, *i.e.*, all along its southern stretch, it is called the Pír Pantsál Range. Its geographical duty is to divide the basins of the Jhélam and the Chináb, though strictly speaking the drainage of the Púnchh River belongs to the Jhélam system, and so the true watershed between the Jhélam and the Chináb stops short at the Pír Pantsál Pass; and westward of that point the bounding mountains of Kashmír divide the basins of the Jhélam and the Púnchh. Having so far endeavoured to lead the reader through the salient points in the mazes of these mountains, it is sufficient to add here, that along the Bhimbar route the traveller is traversing the tributaries of the Chináb until he reaches Bahrámgul, and along the Bánihál route until he has actually crossed the pass of that name.

These mighty walls of the Vale of Kashmír are pierced by a great gap formed by the Jhélam at Báramúla, and are rendered passable by several low points or passes. These last are especially numerous in the Pír Pantsál Range, varying in height from 14,000 to 8,000 ft.; and among them, those that now concern us are the Bánihál

(9,200 ft.) and the Pír Pantsál itself (11,400 ft.). Throughout this range, too, are innumerable lakes of all sizes, the largest being that in the Brahmá Sakal Mountain, which is over two miles long by three-quarters of a mile wide; and the most famous that of Vérnág at the Kashmír foot of the Bánihál Pass. It may be here noted that in this connection *nág* in Kashmír often means merely "tarn" or "pool," from the tutelary deity of such places; and that *pír* means "pass," from the fact that in days gone by, some *pír* or ascetic took up his abode in one as long as it was open, and helped the passing traveller. It may be further noted that *nág* is a Hindu term, and *pír* a Muhammadan one. The tarns are also often called *sar*, which is merely the modern form of a Sanskrit word meaning "lake," and there seems to be little doubt as to their being formed by the action of former glaciers.

If we follow the main chain, starting from Nanga Parbat to beyond Nun Kun, south-eastwards as far as the Bárá Láchá Pass, we find ourselves in the mountains dividing the tributaries of the Chináb from those of the Indus, and that the general run of the system is north-west and south-east; and we have already seen that the mountains immediately surrounding the Valley of Kashmír are mighty spurs jutting out from the main chain. The valley, then, is really nothing more than a depression, though a wide one, in the system, and follows its general direction. It is, in fact, an oval, with its long diameter running north-west and south-east for 84 miles along the flat, while its flat width varies

from 20 to 25 miles. In appearance, however, it is much larger, as the view, of course, includes the summits of the encircling mountains, which are 116 miles apart at the long diameter, and from 75 to 40 miles at the shorter ones.

The vale itself has a double conformation, caused, firstly, by the alluvium of the Jhélam River (called by natives the Behat or Vehat, and pedantically by the *pandits*, Vítastá, from its old Sanskrit name Vitastá), and, secondly, by the plateaux arising from older alluvial or lacustrine deposits, called locally *karéwas*. Its average level is 6,000 ft., *i.e.*, it varies from 5,200 in the lowest part of the alluvial plain, to 7,000 ft. in the highest plateaux. The alluvial plain, which bears the usual characteristics of such formations, lies on the banks of the Jhélam, along the northern side of the valley from Islámábád to the Walar Lake, and is some 50 miles long and from two to fifteen wide. Much of this plain is covered permanently with water, forming shallow and weedy lakes—of which the Walar is the largest, being ten miles long by six wide—and much more of it is marsh land, dry in winter when the river is low.

The flatness of the alluvial part of the valley makes the Jhélam a sluggish river from Islámábád to Báramúla, a distance of 120 miles, and easily navigable by boats of all sizes, rendering travelling pleasant and comfortable. When low it is considerably below its banks, but, as it continually overtops them at the season of melting snow, they have been artificially raised. This, however, has not hitherto been done with such thorough-

ness as to prevent frequent floods. Besides the great river itself, there is a multitude of waterways through Srínagar formed by canals, the description of which properly belongs to that of the City itself; but outside it is the important Narú Canal from Shádípúr on the Jhélam to Sópúr, made to avoid the Walar Lake, and having a commonly used branch southwards to Patan.

The lakes worthy of mention here are the Walar, the Dal, and the Mánas Bal, all in the course of the Jhélam. The Walar is in the north-west corner of the valley, and is formed merely by the waters of the Jhélam overflowing into the depression situated there. It is bounded, therefore, by mountains on three sides, and resolves itself into a swamp where the river enters it, to be lost for a while in its waters and to reappear again at its south-west corner. This lake is nowhere more than 14 ft. deep; but it is subject to violent storms, which are the terror of the Kashmírí boatmen. The Dal is the lake of Srínagar City, with an average depth of 10 ft., shut off from the Jhélam by artificial banks, and saved from floods by ingenious, though primitive gates, so made in the passage left for navigation as to open towards the river. The Mánas Bal is a much frequented lake near the Walar on the right bank of the Jhélam, with which it is connected by a channel. It is about three miles long and a mile wide, and its depth is about 50 ft., though locally reputed to be fabulous.

The upland parts of the Kashmír Valley are called by the natives *karéwas*, and are to be found to the

north-west beyond the Jhélam plain, thence from Sópúr to Shúpén along the foot of the Pír Pantsál mountains, to a width of 8 to 16 miles into the valley, and then in the side valleys beyond the Jhélam to the east and north-east. They are of two kinds, the flat-topped and the sloping, and are separated by deep ravines varying from 100 to 300 ft. in depth, sometimes being thus made to stand out alone in the midst of low ground. Their soil is mostly loam, and their drainage complete, so they are apt to be arid, but if irrigated they are very productive.

The elevation of the valley renders the climate temperate, especially in comparison with the plains of India. The spring is cold and showery, the summer warm and fine, the winter damp and foggy. The marshy ground about Srínagar is apt to bring on fevers in July and August; but they can be escaped by moving a few miles to higher ground, and in the same manner the fogs of winter can be avoided by a move into the higher parts. There is no regular double harvest as in India, though it is practicable in parts to reap barley in spring, or rather summer, and then rape, maize, or millet in the autumn. The cultivation of wheat and rice, however, precludes a second harvest; the latter is the great crop in Kashmír, but the former is not of a good quality.

Besides the grains grown for food there is much to interest the observer in the general vegetation of Kashmír, especially in the matter of forest and fruit-trees. The deodar, or Himálayan cedar, the pine (both *longifolia*

and *excelsa*), and the yew, all abound, and are most valuable forest trees; the elm, too, and the sandal wood appear to be common. The cypress, the plane or *chunár*, are abundant and luxuriant, though exotic; while the poplar flourishes everywhere, and to these must be added a wild chestnut, the mountain oak, two varieties of willow, the maple, red and white hawthorn, the birch, the spruce, the juniper, and the rhododendron, all flourishing at the elevations suitable to each. As to fruit-trees, they are exceptionally numerous, apples and pears of many kinds, peaches, apricots, plums, almonds, pomegranates, mulberries, walnuts, hazels, vines and cherries. Then there are strawberries, raspberries and currants. Vegetables, too, of all sorts are grown in any quantity; potatoes, cauliflowers, carrots, rhubarb, beetroot, turnips, onions, endive, and so on; cucumbers, also, and melons and the water caltrop, or *singhárá* nut, in the peculiar floating gardens of the Dal Lake. In addition to all this, Kashmír is a veritable land of flowers, wild and cultivated, both on land and on water; roses, iris, and saffron in enormous quantities, and the splendid lotus of the waters about Srínagar.

No account of Kashmír would be in any way adequate without a more or less detailed reference to its chief feature, the City of Srínagar—the Kashmír of the Muhammadans during their rule, who, as usual, would have nothing to say to former Hindu names. It is not only the most important place in the Valley, but as we have seen above, it actually swallows up one-fourth of the entire population. It lies along the Jhélam, ex-

tending for about three miles on either bank, and about half a mile inland; but it is surrounded by swamps, and built on ground more or less artificially raised above their level. In this way it is a lacustrine city, streets and thoroughfares being of minor importance, and the main arteries of traffic being firstly the river, and secondly the canals and lakes or swamps. The houses are not exactly built in blocks and lines, but independently of each other, and are combined wood and brick structures on a firm and solid stone foundation higher than the flood line. The public buildings are of the usual Indian type; mosques and temples, palaces and forts.

A good deal will be said about the City and its appearance further on, and it will therefore be sufficient here to point out its main features, so that the reader may not in any way be puzzled by the references and statements in the journals. The most remarkable objects in Srínagar are the River Jhélam and the canals that intersect it in every direction. The Jhélam makes one long bend through the City, and during its course there is confined within, for it, a narrow channel only 80 yards across, by an embankment of limestone blocks, now in considerable want of repair, broken by numerous stairs or *gháts*, and topped with buildings. The river is thus deeper and swifter in the City than anywhere else in the Valley. Of the canals the chief are the Katha Kul on the left, and the Tsónta Kul, the Nahari Már, and the Rainawári on the right bank of the river. The Katha Kul leaves the Jhélam under the walls of the Shérgarhí Fort, and after a while bifurcates,

the western branch entering the Dúdgangá River just before its junction with the Jhélam, and the eastern branch returning to the great river itself. In the flood season it is navigable by the largest boats; but for the rest of the year it consists merely of a series of stagnant pools. The Tsónta Kul leaves the Jhélam opposite the Shergarhí, and reaches the Dal Lake in a mile and a half. A branch called the Sónáwár canal joins it to the Jhélam higher up to the east of Harí Singh's Garden. The Rainawárí canal, or rather network of water channels, starts from the watergate at the Dal Lake end of the Sónáwár canal and runs northwards to the Harí Parbat, through walls, meadows, and lotus swamps. But the grand canal of Srínagar is the Nahari Már, which with its many branches is rather difficult to follow. It may be said to start from the south-west corner of the Dal Lake, flowing thence to the Diláwar Khán Bágh, formerly set apart for the residence of Europeans, and onwards in a winding manner past the Sráf Kadal to the Náo Kadal. It has two main branches, the Shihilting canal flowing westwards near its commencement across the Brárí Nambal, and joining it again towards the Sráf Kadal; and another flowing northwards near its termination with the Anchar Lake, and joining the Jhélam miles away near the junction of the Sindh River.

The Bridges of Srínagar are very numerous, and, as they are the principal landmarks of the City, it is as well to enumerate the chief ones here. Beginning then in every case up stream, and premising that the suffix

kadal—a particular form of bridge, as will be seen further on—is added colloquially to each name, they are as follows:—over the Jhélam, the Amírí, Hubbá, Fatteh, Zaina, Hailí, Nayá, and Saffá; over the Katha Kul, the Tainkí, Darash, Chutsa, Kanhayyá, Bozágar, and Wátal; over the Tsónta Kul, the Gáo; over the Rainawárí, the Náidyár; over the Nahari Már, the Náopurá, Náid, Bhúri, Sráf, Kádí, Razáwar, Khwádar, Gáo, Dúmá, Púchá. All these bridges are of the same type, excepting those over the Nahari Már, which, the Gáo and Dúmá *kadals* excepted, consist of single pointed masonry arches, and appear to be very ancient.

Perhaps the features of Srínagar which first catch the traveller's eye are its avenues of poplars. The chief of these is that known as the Poplar Avenue *par excellence*, which starts near the Amírí Kadal on the right bank of the Jhélam, and extends for a mile and more to the Sónáwár Canal, at the foot of the Takht-i-Sulaimán. Another celebrated avenue commences at the same bridge on the left bank of the river, and runs southwards for seven miles along the road to Shúpén. A third runs southwards from the Shérgarhí to a bridge over the Dúdgangá.

Srínagar is protected, or supposed to be protected, by two fortresses; Shérgarhí to the south, and Harí Parbat to the north. The Shérgarhí is a rectangular enclosure about 400 yards long by 200 broad, between the rivers Jhélam and Dúdgangá. It is surrounded by double loopholed stone walls, connected by numerous bastions on its three land sides, and on the river, *i.e.* the Jhélam,

side, it is defended by a high wall surrounded by public buildings and dwellings. Inside, the fort contains a long *bázár*, many residences and Government offices and store houses, a hall of audience, a treasury, and a royal palace with a temple attached. The Harí Parbat is a hill dominating the northern end of the City, and rising 250 feet above the valley level. This hill is surrounded by a massive bastioned wall some three miles long, constructed by the Emperor Akbar in 1597. The fort itself is on the top of the hill, and is reached by a broad easy road from the north. Its form follows the outline of the crest, and its walls are of massive and lofty stone work. Within are barracks and arrangements for a small garrison only, and without, and between it and the outer wall, are several suburbs and walled enclosures. At the northern end of the fort is a separate square building named Shujá'ul-Mulk's tower, after the ill-fated ruler of Afghánistán.

The plot of ground on the right bank of the Jhélam, between the Tsónta Kul and its branch, the Sónáwár canal, has been reserved for Europeans. It is an open grassy plain a mile and a half long by a mile broad, intersected by the Poplar Avenue, and divided into *bághs* or gardens, containing bungalows, all belonging to the Mahárájá. These are the Munshí, Harí Singh, Gurmukh Singh, Tárá Singh, and Shékh Bághs, which last is the residence of the British Political Agent. These spots are therefore those best known to visitors; and to them may be added the Rám Munshí Bágh, a mile or so higher up the river, the island opposite the

Harí Singh Bágh, and Kirpá Rám's Chháuní, a mile below the City, as favourite camping grounds.

The Public Buildings of Srínagar, besides those in the forts already mentioned, are few, and more peculiar than beautiful. They are all mosques—some of stone, and some of wood on stone foundations—and are the Jama' Masjid, built by the Emperor Sháh Jahán; the celebrated and remarkable mosque of Sháh Hamadán, the local name of the great Sayyid 'Alí Hamadání, who fled to Kashmír from the persecutions of Amír Taimúr (Tamerlane) in 1380, and who with his son Mír Muhammad Hamadání had as much to do with the fixing the religion of the Valley as any personage in its history; the 'Alá Masjid outside the city to the north-west, and dated 1471; the Bulbul Lankar on the Jhélam in honour of Bulbul Sháh, the local saint who is said to have introduced Muhammadanism into Kashmír; the Rattan Sháh Masjid, an old stone building also on the Jhélam, and the Mungrí Masjid to the west of the city. There are also the ruins of a beautiful mosque built by Mulla Sháh, the pastor of the unfortunate Dárá Shikóh, the elder brother and rival of the Emperor Aurangzéb; the disused Pathar Masjid erected by Núr Jahán; and the shrine of Thagí Bábá on the Katha Kul. Of antiquities Srínagar can boast but few, the iconoclastic zeal of the earlier Muhammadan rulers having caused these to disappear to a great extent; indeed the chief signs of the old Hindú occupation are the many sculpture stones worked into the river and canal embankments, and the stone foundations of the modern wooden buildings. There is, however, an old tomb to the great Kashmírí King

Zainu'l-'ábidín (1423-1474), which also contains an inscription by Mirzá Haidar Dughlát, the general and relative of the Emperor Humáyún, who made himself master of Kashmír from 1540 to 1551. But the really ancient Hindú site in the immediate neighbourhood of Srínagar is on the summit of the well-known hill called the Takht-i-Sulaimán, from whence is to be obtained the magnificent panoramic view so carefully detailed in the journals. Here there is a comparatively modern temple, containing a *linga*, or phallic emblem, and constructed on a very old plinth. Besides this, there are about three miles above Srínagar, on the right bank of the Jhélam, the ruins of Pándrénthan, a city of the old rulers of Kashmír, containing the remains of a very celebrated temple, also described in the journals.

Srínagar is more or less surrounded by lakes and morasses. These are, on the left bank of the Jhélam, the Vatnár and the Nagat Nambal along the highroad to Shúpén, and the Brimman stretching away to the shores of the Walar Lake; and on the right bank the Anchar to the north-west of the town, and the series of swamps and lakes called the Dal, or Srínagar, Lake. This last, with its surroundings, is one of the chief delights of Kashmír. It is five miles long by two broad, generally shallow, inclined to be marshy, and partly covered by the floating gardens peculiar to it, and the leaves of the lotus and other aquatic plants, interspersed with plots of partially and wholly reclaimed meadow and garden land; but of clear water and exquisitely situated in an amphitheatre of mountains. It is divided into several distinct parts, whose names it is always as

well to bear in mind, when talking of it. Commencing from the south-east corner, these are the Gugríbal, the Búd Dal, and the Astawól; then westwards the Sudarkan, the Dal Kótwúl and Dúdar Pókhar, which last is a district of sedge, weeds and swampy land. Nearer to the City itself, and within the canal region, is the Brárí Nambal. The lake is crossed by a narrow path running along a raised causeway, called the Súttú, or Súti Chaudharí, and contains two artificial islands, the Sóná Lank in the Búd Dal and the Rúpá Lank, or Isle of Chunárs, in the Astawól. This last is famous for having contained a black marble inscribed tablet, placed there by three well known European travellers, and as it has now disappeared and is fast becoming forgotten, it may not be out of place to give the text of the inscription here, especially as it brings vividly before the mind the fact that only fifty years ago the now oft visited Kashmír Valley was practically an inaccessible land:—

THREE TRAVELLERS,
BARON CARL VON HUGEL FROM JAMMUN,
JOHN HENDERSON FROM LADAKH,
GODFREY THOMAS VIGNE FROM SKARDU,
WHO MET IN SRINAGAR ON THE 18TH NOVEMBER, 1835,
HAVE CAUSED THE NAMES OF THOSE EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS WHO PREVIOUSLY VISITED THE VALE OF KASHMIR, TO BE HEREUNDER ENGRAVED:—
BERNIER, 1663,
FORSTER, 1786,
MOORCROFT, TREBECK AND GUTHRIE, 1823,
JACQUEMONT, 1831,
WOLFF, 1832.
OF THESE, THREE ONLY LIVED TO RETURN TO THEIR NATIVE COUNTRY.

At the foot of the hills surrounding the Dal, and in other places about it, are situated many gardens and structures, mostly dating from the Imperial Mughal times. Of these it will be sufficient to mention here those that concern us in this volume: the Shálmár and the Nishát Gardens, the Parí Mahal, the Chashma Sháhí, and the Hazrat Bal.

Before closing this general description of Kashmír and its people, a short reference must be made to one or two special points.

Among these the boats on the canals and the Jhélam deserve mention as being one of the chief means of conveyance in Kashmír. They are all built of deodar (cedar) wood, and are peculiar in having no sails. They may be divided into State, passenger, and cargo boats. Belonging to the first category are the *bangla*, called also *chákhwár* and *larináo*, and the *parinda*, both reserved for persons of consequence. The *bangla* is a large State vessel with a house amidships, and the *parinda*, a light fast boat, with a canopied platform in the fore part. Of the passenger class are the *shikárí*, a fast "six-manned" wherry, fitted with comfortable cushions, the *bandúkí shikárí*, a small swift punt for wild fowl shooting on the lakes, and the *dúnga*. This last is used by the Kashmírís as a cargo and dwelling boat, and by the English as a commodious travelling conveyance, because it supports a convenient house made of matting. The regular cargo boats are the *baht*, a heavy cumbersome barge with a house in the stern, and the *khúch*, a very large boat without cover or awning.

The bridges of Kashmír are also, as will have been already perceived, a matter of some importance, and they are of various kinds. First comes the *kadal* proper, of which there are thirteen over the Jhélam, seven being in Srínagar itself. The construction and appearance of this bridge are very peculiar and worthy of a short description here. A foundation of deodar piles is first made in the river bed, and on this logs of the same wood 25 ft. long and 2 to 3 ft. in girth, are laid 2 ft. apart in layers at right angles to each other. In this way a large open pier 25 ft. square is formed, and raised to a height of 25 to 30 ft. These piers are built about 90 ft. apart and spanned by long undressed deodar timbers covered over by a double row of small transverse logs, closely packed and then plastered with earth. As a protection to the piers, abutments of stones and piles running to a point are constructed on their upstream sides. There are also bridges of a single span, called in Kashmír *kadals*, but elsewhere in these hills *sanghás*, which are thus constructed. On either side the stream strong abutments of rubble and timber are made, and into these are firmly inserted, in successively projecting tiers, stout poles, increasing in length as the tiers rise upwards, the opposite sides being firmly connected by two or three stout and long trees, on which are placed a pathway and a handrail. Such a bridge is sometimes of considerable span. Then there are two kinds of rope suspension bridges, often of great length, called respectively the *chíká* and the *jhólá*. The *chíká* consists simply of a stout cable, formed of six or eight ropes of

hemp, or of willow and birch twigs, loosely twined together, and swung from rude piers on either side the stream, along which is hauled a large wooden ring by means of a rope. From this ring is suspended a loop, in which the passenger seats himself. The process of being pulled across is a tedious one, but though it looks dangerous it is safe enough. The *jholá* is similarly formed of a cable and rope swung across a stream, but the former is used as a footpath and the latter as a handrail. Crossing a mountain stream by the *jhólá* is more nervous work than by the *chíká*, as these bridges are apt to swing considerably with the traveller's weight, and violently in a high wind. Besides these there are the *tangarí*, formed by two side timbers, on which are laid brushwood and earth kept down by large stones, and the *kánal*, which is merely a tree trunk or plank thrown across a stream.

A word or two is necessary as to the routes between Kashmír and the plains of India, as there are, or certainly were at the time the journeys were undertaken, important restrictions as to choice. There are seven main routes over the mountain passes into Kashmír, of which only four were then open to European travellers, because of the heavy demand on transport required by them. The natives of India, except those of the highest rank, travel very lightly, and with no impedimenta to speak of; whereas the European requires stores, tents, and much baggage for himself and his numerous followers; and in a land where men's backs are the principal vehicles for all articles requiring carriage, and the

number of persons available for the purpose very limited the inevitable requisitions would soon prove a burden beyond endurance. Hence the restrictions imposed.

The seven routes are: (1) That by the Bánihál Pass from Jammún, which is the chief commercial route, as it leads to the great emporuim of Amritsar. It is a rough road, practicable with difficulty for horses, and the carriage is done by men and pack bullocks. (2) That *viá* Búdil from Jammún, impassable for horses, and practicable only for men as beasts of burden. (3) The celebrated Mughal route from Bhimbar over the Pír Pantsál Pass, which can be ridden over, and so is still in much request, especially by Europeans. (4) That from Bhimbar *viá* Rájaurí and Púnchh over the Hájí Pass, traversing lower ground than the Pír Pantsál route, and so open longer. (5) The route from Jhélam, which is rough and therefore unpopular. (6) The Murree (Marhí) and Báramúla route, not much used commercially, but along an easy rideable road greatly esteemed by Europeans. (7) That from Abbotabad *viá* Muzaffarábád to Báramúla, an easy road, free from snow nearly all the year round. Of these the first two are closed to Europeans for the reasons above given, and the value of the descriptions of the journeys in the succeeding pages is enhanced by the fact that the unfrequented Bánihál route is three times described, and twice by unusual detours. The Bhimbar route, too, though followed once, was not strictly adhered to, and so a part of the country is described that is not commonly traversed.

Allusions are more than once made in the journals to the

manufactures of Kashmír, and these must accordingly be shortly noticed. They are not numerous, but in one or two cases of some importance. Thus the shawl-weaving, paper and *papier mâché* making are of universal celebrity, and to these must be added homespun woollen cloths and blankets, raw silk, leather, soap, and goods of stone, gold and silver, copper, iron, steel and wood.

The manufacture of Kashmír shawls has often been exhaustively explained, and though its details are most interesting, a very brief account must suffice here. The shawls are of two descriptions, loom-made and hand-made, and each variety employs a separate class of makers. The loom-made shawls are produced by *kár-khándárs* or manufacturers, buying the spun thread from the dealers, dying it under their own superintendence, and distributing it to weavers (*shálbáfs*), who work under overseers or *ustáds*. In the hand-work system the ground cloth (*pashmína*) is made by workmen (*sádabáfs*), who procure their materials themselves, and then hand over the manufactured article to *rafúgars*, or fine drawers, to work in the coloured threads. The preparation and construction of the patterns is intricate and peculiar. The pattern is first drawn on paper, and from the picture the *gandanwól*, or foreman, dictates it to a short-hand writer (*kitábwálá*), who takes it down in a species of stenography possessing a special interest of its own, and from this *written* document the pattern is woven by the working weavers. When the shawl is so far completed that its value can be estimated, it gets thoroughly into the grip of the tax-gatherer; indeed, throughout every

process, from the growing of the wool to the final sale, this official never lets go his hold of it. It is this fact that has rendered the workmen connected with this manufacture so wretched, though their work is of surpassing excellence and their skill unrivalled. The shawl being the sport—legitimate and illegitimate—of a host of officials, it is obvious that the office of Díwán, or Superintendent, of the Shawl Department at Srínagar, is one of great pecuniary value and of no small importance. At the time of the first visit referred to in this volume, the well-known Rájá Kák was still *díwán* of shawls. He died in 1866, and was succeeded by Bhúl Rájá, son of Partáb Sháh, another very prominent Kashmírí, but he had to be removed for incompetence or perhaps worse, and was succeeded by Pandit Bhadarí Náth. The materials from which the shawls are manufactured is the *pasham* or wool of the shawl-goat, an animal apparently peculiar to the Himálayas, and the Karakoram Mountains.

Kashmír paper is valued by the natives of India for its durability, and generally excellent quality. It is made of cotton rags and hemp pulp, whitened by slaked lime and *sajjí*, an impure subcarbonate of soda. It is all hand-made, and the process is substantially that gone through in the production of what is universally known as "country paper" in India.

The *papier máché* ware is familiar to all Europeans in appearance, and is produced by pulping and moulding coarse "country paper," and then painting and varnishing it. The varnish is procured by boiling clear copal

(*sundras*) in pure turpentine, and is absolutely transparent. This system of painting and varnishing is by no means confined to *papier máché*, but is frequently applied to woodwork on a large scale. It is commonly called lacquering by travellers, but this is an entire misnomer, lacquer in any form having no connection with it.

The home-spun cloths or *pattús* are of numerous descriptions, but both these and the blankets are of a type common to the Himálayan districts generally; and the stone and metal goods are chiefly remarkable and valued for the exquisite art lavished on the ornaments with which they are covered.

Something must now be said as to the general civil and military administration and history of the heterogeneous possessions of the Mahárájá of Jammún and Kashmír.

For administrative purposes Jammún was, when the journeys under consideration were made, divided into seven districts, viz.:—Jammún, Jasrótá, Rámnagar, Udhampur, Riásí, Mínáwar and Naushahra, modelled on the plan in vogue in the Panjáb, and each under a district officer, assisted by a general assistant or *náib*, and three or four sub-divisional officers. To these districts must be added Púnchh, which was a separate Government under a Rájá, a relative of the Mahárájá, and dependent on him, but nevertheless left very much to his own devices. Kashmír was under a governor appointed by the Mahárájá, and was divided into six districts, viz.:—Kámráj, Patan, Srínagar, Shúpén, Islámábád or Anat Nág, and Muzaffarábád, administered

pretty much as above. Lastly, there were separate Governors respectively for Ladákh, Baltistán, and Gilgit, each province having its own special rules of Government made to suit its peculiar circumstances. Here the Governors were left much to themselves, and allowed considerable latitude and independent power, the whole form of administration being necessarily primitive, rough, and ready.

The Mahárájá took a considerable share daily in the judicial, and what may be called the "personal" administration of his territories, hearing prayers of all kinds from all classes of the people, and being the final judge in such civil and criminal cases as his subjects by petition brought to his notice. In this work he was aided by his eldest son and heir, and spent a large part of every day in it. On the whole the system of Government was excellently devised, but it was unhappily more than indifferently carried out by the agency employed. Oppression was unquestionably rampant and taxation excessive. The country was, however, fortunate in possessing at the time a wise and judicious Minister in the person of Díwán Kirpá Rám. In 1860, this eminent administrator introduced many and important reforms into the Government of the Jammún districts, by abolishing the collection of revenue in kind, and substituting fixed cash payments, making an assessment favourable to the cultivators, doing away with the presentation of *nazars* or customary gifts to the rulers, and appointing men of substance and standing to the posts in the collection of revenue. The effect of all this

was the payment of arrears of taxation, enhancement of Government receipts, and a general increase of agricultural prosperity. In 1861 similar reforms were commenced in Kashmír by the appointment of respectable revenue collectors, and in 1868 a reasonable land assessment was taken in hand, though the dues were still collected in kind. Kirpá Rám continued his life of useful reform till 1876, when on his death the writer of the journals, in a letter to Lord Lytton, said of him; "I have just heard with much grief of the death of the Díwán Kirpá Rám of Jammún. He will be a great loss. He was among Hindús what the Sálár Jang is among Muhammadans."

For the protection of his territories, and the preservation of the public peace, the Mahárájá kept up an army of about 20,000 men, divided into 2 Cavalry, 24 Infantry, Line, and Irregular Regiments, 16 Batteries, two of which were horsed, and a corps of Sappers and Miners. Each Infantry Regiment had small pieces of artillery attached to it, called curiously, little wasps (*zambúra*), lion cubs (*shérbachá*), and tiger cubs (*bághbachá*). Its personel consisted almost entirely of Dógrás, Dárds, and Panjábís, both Hindú and Musalmán; Kashmírís, Baltís, and Ladákhís being practically absent from it. The army, excepting the artillery was, for a native force, fairly equipped and efficient, copying, after a fashion, the British drill and dress; and it was well paid, which is certainly not the rule in a native State. The cavalry was chiefly employed as an escort to the Mahárájá, and the infantry in collecting revenue! The troops generally

were stationed all over the country in detachments, garrisoning the innumerable forts. The Rájá of Púnchh had besides a small force of his own, consisting of one battery, 1,200 infantry and a reserve of pensioners. As a whole, the Mahárájá's army was apt to be a source of private expense to his subjects, because the men during their frequent movements from place to place were accustomed to live at free quarters.

The history of the varied territories of the Mahárájá of Jammún and Kashmír is obscure and complicated, but it is necessary that the reader should be put in possession of the main facts, if he would comprehend aright the many allusions to it in the journals. The first Mahárájá, the celebrated Guláb Singh, of whom more presently, began by obtaining possession of Jammún proper, then Kishtwár and Basólí, then Ladákh and Skardú; after which Rámnagar and Bhadrawáh fell to him. Next he became ruler over Kashmír and its appanage Gilgit; and lastly, Rájaurí, and, as a dependency, Púnchh came under his sway. The tangled web of events that led to this consummation, it is now proposed briefly to unravel and make plain.

The early history of the Jammún districts, and indeed up to quite modern times, is much that of the Himálayas generally, the whole country being split up into petty territories, hardly more than villages in size, ruled over by independent chiefs claiming Rájpút descent, among whom a strong man, here and there, and now and then, obtained suzerainty over his neighbours. Much in this way Ranjít Déo of Jammún, a great name in these moun-

tains in the middle of the last century, rose to something more than local eminence. On his death in 1780, the usual quarrel for the succession arose between his sons, which gave the Sikh notable, Mahán Singh, father of the great Ranjít Singh of the Panjáb, the opportunity of turning Jammún into a dependency. Ranjít Singh himself for many years after this carried on expeditions of conquest and plunder into the hills hereabouts, and in the course of these, the dispossessed family of Jammún in a junior branch, again came to the front. Ranjít Déo's youngest brother, Surt Singh, through his second son, Zóráwar Singh, had three great-grandsons, all of whom occupied in their day a distinguished place in the history of the Sikhs. These were Guláb Singh, Dhyán Singh, and Suchét Singh. The rise of the three brothers from humble positions about the Court of Ranjít Singh at Lahore, the prominent parts played by all of them during the troublous days of the brief Sikh monarchy of the Panjáb, and the tragic end of the last two, are matters of general history; and what concerns us now is the acquisition by Guláb Singh of supreme power in the Western Himálayas. In 1818 Ranjít Singh conferred the Ráj of Jammún on Guláb Singh, that of Púnchh on Dhyán Singh, and that of Rámnagar on Suchét Singh, as feofs, in return for war services rendered by them. Having thus achieved his ambition of becoming a ruler in his native land, Guláb Singh set about settling the country and establishing himself firmly on the throne of his forefathers thus granted him. This he accomplished thoroughly, it is said, at the cost of much

cruelty, and by the free exercise of the unscrupulous guile for which he was famed. About 1833 he extended his power over Kishtwár, then in the possession of a Muhammadanized Rájá, Muhammad Tégh Singh, who had retained his Hindú title of Rájá, and mixed up a Hindú name with a Muhammadan one in a fashion common to his class in the Western Himálayas. This chief was descended from a family of the usual hill Rájpút type, which had become Muhammadan during the rule of the bigoted Emperor Aurangzéb in the 17th century, and lost his kingdom without a blow by allowing the crafty Guláb Singh to take advantage of a Court squabble. Basólí, too, which had passed into Sikh possession so long previously as 1783, seems to have come under the sway of Guláb Singh about this time.

The next steps in the acquisition of territory were the conquests of Ladákh and Skardú. Up to about 1600 A.D. Ladákh seems to have formed an integral part of Tibet, but from that time onwards to its conquest by the troops of Guláb Singh in 1834, it was governed by a dynasty of independent Buddhist princes, whose history is that of war with varying fortunes with their neighbours, especially Kashmír and Skardú. In 1834 the Jammún Rájá sent his henchman, Zóráwar Singh, a Kahlúriá Rájpút, who earned for himself a lasting name in these hills, to take Ladákh for him. This he managed to do after two years' campaigning, taking possession of the little dependency of Pádar belonging to the Chambá Rájá at the same time, so as to open communications with Jammún *viá* Kishtwár. This war

led directly to that which ended in the annexation of Skardú or Baltistán in 1840, for Rájá Ahmad Sháh, the chief, had mixed himself up with the Ladákhís against the Dógrás, and this eventually lost him his territories to the redoubtable Zóráwar Singh. In the following year Zóráwar Singh lost his own life, and with him died his prisoner Ahmad Sháh, at Tírthapurí in the "Holy Land" of the Mánasa-saróvara Lake during a foolish attempt at the conquest of Tibet. Two years after this, in 1843, on the death of his brother, Rájá Suchét Singh, without issue, Guláb Singh added Rámnagar to his dominions. In 1845, again, when Hírá Singh, his nephew, and son of Rájá Dhyán Singh, came to his end, Bhadrawáh also fell to Guláb Singh. Hírá Singh had obtained it as a dowry with his wife, the daughter of the Rájá of Chambá, whose predecessors had stolen it from its lawful owners, an ancient family of Miyán Rájpúts in 1810.

These events bring us to the consideration of the history of Kashmír and Gilgit, and an account of their annexation by the ever prosperous Jammún Chief. The history of Kashmír proper goes back into the darkest and most difficult parts of even the invariably obscure ancient history of India.

Up to the 14th century A.D., when the Muhammadans first appeared on the scene as rulers, the country was subject to a series of Buddhist and Hindú dynasties whose annals are purported to be related in the celebrated versified chronicle known as the *Rájataranginí*, and who occasionally became famous in regions outside. These

were the constructors of the really old remains still so common in Kashmír at places like Islámábád, Bijbihára, Pándrénthan, the Takht-i-Sulaimán, and Patan. Buddhism seems to have been triumphant up to Fá-Hían's day, in the fifth century, and to have been upset by the Hindú conqueror and ruler Mihirakula in the sixth. Another widely known name among the Hindú kings of those times is that of Lalitáditya, the reputed founder of the famous Mártand temple near Islámábád, in the eighth century; but the bulk of the old Kashmírí kings were strictly local rulers, and we may now pass on directly to the rise of the Muhammadans to power in the person of Sháh Mír under the title of Shamsu'ddín in 1341.

Among his successors are to be found the names of two rulers which are still household words throughout Kashmír, Sikandar Butshikan, *i.e.*, the Iconoclast, whose title sufficiently indicates his deeds, and Zainu'l-'ábidín, to whom is attributed the bulk of the arts and industries, literature and architecture of modern Kashmír. These were both 15th century heroes, but during the next hundred years the country seems to have been given over to faction fights between the weak successors of Zainu'l-'ábidín and the powerful tribes of the Chaks, Rénas and Mákrís, of whom Kájí Chak and Abdí Réná were the most prominent leaders. It was during this period that Mírzá Haidar Dughlát, above mentioned, made himself master of Kashmír for ten years; and the end of it was that after a desultory struggle lasting for a long while, the local dynasty fell to the generals of the